India

FOR THE

No. 22. New Series.
No. 116. Old Series.

WEEK ENDING FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1898.

Registered as a Newspaper. | Price...... 2d. By Post, 2½d.

Notes and News 337
"Strained Relations" 340
Mr. Ghose's "Songs and Elegies" 341
Parliament and the New Press Law of India, by E. H. Pickersgill, M.P. 341
"India Revisited" 342
Miss Olive May at Arrah 343
Our London Letter 345
Letter to the Editor: "How to Civilise the Afridis" 346
Chronicle of the Week 346
The Committee on Currency 347
India in the British Press... 347
Mr. Alfred Webb on Indian Affairs 349
British Indians in Natal 350
Advertisements 351-352

NOTES AND NEWS.

Our Bombay correspondent telegraphed on Tuesday last: "As the judge trying Chapekar (for the murder of Lieutenant Ayerst and Mr. Rand), Mr. Crowe has declared in Durbar at Poona that he carefully watched the trial for any evidence showing whether Chapekar was the tool of other disloyal persons, but he found no indication of any conspiracy whatever on the part of any section in Poona which could have prompted the crime. The Native Press urge the absolute release of the Natus after this declaration."

Our Bombay correspondent telegraphed on May 26: "The Bombay Presidency Association begs to participate in the profound and universal grief at the death of the great Englishman who was revered and admired though-out India for the nobility and righteousness of the principles which unbendingly governed his long and memorable public career."

In our issue of May 6 we printed a telegram from a Calcutta correspondent announcing the alleged murder of Dr. Suresh Chunder Sircar at Barrackpur by three young English soldiers. "We print this astounding news," we wrote, "with all reserve, abstaining from comment until the facts are fully known." "It seems incredible," we added, "that so dastardly an outrage can have been perpetrated. The news will not be credited here without the clearest proof." Indian papers now to hand set forth the circumstances substantially as they appeared in our telegram. We may say so with profound regret, for the facts must be faced, and they wear a most repulsive and ominous aspect.

Dr. Sircar was an eminent medical practitioner at Barrackpur. He held a foremost place in local society, being a Municipal Commissioner and an honorary magistrate. On Saturday, April 30, his carriage was standing in front of his dispensary, waiting to drive him to the railway station. It was about nine o'clock in the evening. Three English soldiers came along, and, getting into the doctor's carriage, ordered the coachman to drive them to the station. The coachman, of course, refused. Thereupon the soldiers beat the horses and abused the man. Dr. Sircar, hearing the fracas, called out from his dispensary; whereupon the soldiers threw stones at the windows. The doctor then came out and remonstrated with the aggressors, threatening to report their conduct to their officers. "Then the three soldiers," the evidence runs, "began to assault him with slaps and with blows with clenched fists." They pushed him a few paces and he was knocked down. The men then kicked him, individually and jointly, rolling his body "to a considerable distance from the spot where he fell." The spectators were naturally paralysed for the moment, but they pulled themselves together and seized one of the assailants, handling him so drastically that he still lies in hospital. Another fled to a neighbouring mosque, where he was caught, and handed over to the police. The third escaped, but left behind him his helmet and his stick, whereby he was identified. Dr. Sircar was taken to the hospital, where he died at five o'clock next morning. The civil surgeon's evidence was that the base of the skull was "extensively fractured," and "the appearance of the wound was consistent with the story of the man having been kicked with boots while lying on the ground." The three soldiers have been committed for trial before the High Court for culpable homicide, voluntarily causing grievous hurt, and abetting one another in the commission of the said offences.

The case must, in the meantime, be left with the High Court. But it is little wonder if, as the *Bengalee* says, "there is panic at Barrackpur." "People say, and with much truth," our contemporary remarks, "that if a man like Dr. Suresh Chunder Sircar, of his eminence and position, could be murdered in this manner by European soldiers on a much frequented public road, close to a police outpost and in view of the railway station, their lives are not safe." It has been said, apparently by way of palliation, that the men were drunk; but their lieutenant stated definitely in evidence that they were not drunk. Even if they were, the fact would hardly assist in reassuring the minds of the Native population. The character of Dr. Sircar adds materially to the sense of insecurity and of injury. This is what the *Bengalee* says:—

> The victim of the outrage was a peaceful law-abiding citizen, held in universal respect by Europeans and Indians alike at Barrackpur. He was a Municipal Commissioner of the South Barrackpur Municipality, and quite recently he was its Chairman; he was also an Honorary Magistrate; he was the friend of the poor; his dispensary was a charitable dispensary for them. His services were gratuitously offered for their benefit. How many poor people have been saved through his kindness and beneficence! His name was a household word at Barrackpur. It is the death of such a man—universally honoured, respected, and admired, sent to his great account under circumstances so tragic in their character—which has thrilled Indian society at Barrackpur; and the shock will be felt in every part of the country—almost in every household—where the story of this sad tragedy is told. His death is felt as a domestic calamity in many a home at Barrackpur.

It is impossible to dissent from a single remark of our contemporary on the case, and the words, we believe, will find an echo throughout England. The unhappy thing is that an outrage of this sort does not stand alone, except perhaps in its elaborate brutality. There is clear evidence that the tendency to such misconduct is growing. Why is this so? "The authorities," says the *Bengalee*, "must discourage the feeling which prompts these outrages—the domineering hauteur of a conquering race, holding in contempt the native population subject to their authority." Our contemporary, of course, does not for a moment suppose that the authorities regard a brutal assault like this with any but feelings of abhorrence. But, for all that, there can be no question that "the domineering hauteur of a conquering race" makes itself felt in a wide variety of forms, often little considered, perhaps, yet stabbing the native subjects in vital spots. Undoubtedly the authorities must "discourage the feeling." But everything depends on how they go to work. Over and over again we have urged this very point, and, candidly, we have little hope that the lesson will be laid to heart. Apparently there is a great gulf fixed between the Native peoples and the Europeans; and it is a gulf that seems to be yawning wider and wider every day. It portends disaster. Yet the right spirit might be sent through the land like an electric spark if the authorities would set their faces like flint against the abominable personal insolence that is so freely manifested by Europeans to Indians.

Another highly important aspect of the matter is the conspiracy of silence—for it is nothing less—by which assaults upon Indians are systematically withheld from the knowledge of the British public. When we received our telegram from Calcutta we communicated the substance of it to the Press at home. That, so far as we can discover, is the only intimation of the outrage which has been received by English newspapers. Where was Reuter?

Where was the Simla correspondent of the *Times?* Upon what principles, and with what purpose do they select the items of news which they think fit to telegraph from India for the information of the home public? These are questions which call for some answer. They are questions which might be expected to interest the editors of daily newspapers. At present there is only too much evidence to suggest that the selection of topics for Press telegrams home is sometimes influenced by considerations quite apart from the intrinsic importance and interest of the news itself. The *Times* printed the other day a voluminous and, therefore, costly telegram the whole effect of which was to accentuate differences between the Indian National Congress and a section of the Indian landowners. So, too, everybody knows the prominence which is accorded to any case in which the delinquent is an Indian. Can any candid reader doubt that ample attention would have been vouchsafed to this outrage at Barrackpur if the victim had been a European and the assailants had been Indians? There is neither dignity nor safety in this gross partiality. It would, of course, be as unfair to draw from the Barrackpur case the inference that all English soldiers in India are destitute of self-control as it would be to draw from the cases which quasi-official correspondents never fail to advertise the inference that all Indians are knaves. The fallacy of the "sham sample" is always indefensible. But it is not avoided by those who persistently conceal from the public instances of outrageous conduct which, as we have lately seen, appears to be growing rather more than less common among a certain section of Europeans in India.

The case in which one Alfred Charles Parker is charged with having caused hurt to a woman Jai by throwing her over the Bund Gardens wall at Poona was under trial when the mail left India. The following substance of the statement of the accused made before the magistrate, Mr. Carvalho, may be reproduced from the *Advocate of India* (Bombay):—

Accused stated his name was Charles Parker, European inhabitant of Bombay. He had arrived in Poona on the Sunday previous to the occurrence and was staying at Collett's Hotel. He knew the woman Jai ten months ago, but not her name. She visited him about four or five times during that time. On his arrival in Poona she came to him again. That was outside the railway station. He drove her in an open phaeton to the Bund Gardens, where they got out and went in. They went down a flight of steps. The place was dark. Afterwards he gave her a slight push and she went over the wall. He was in liquor at the time. He did not know they were so close to the edge. He was scared as he looked over and saw the water rushing past. He did not go back in the carriage, but walked back to the hotel, which he reached at half-past nine. He had not seen the gharry driver since. Accused also added that he made that statement of his own free will.

This statement bore the usual certificate of the magistrate.

Questioned, accused said that the foregoing statement made by him to Mr. H. F. Carvalho and read out to him was correct, but that he wished to add to it that an altercation took place between complainant and himself over some liquor money, *i.e.*, some *bukhsheesh* for liquor. The woman tried to feel his pockets, and he pushed her and she fell over.

Confused rumours were in circulation in Bengal when the mail left. The arrangements made by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to meet the plague in Calcutta seem to have given satisfaction, but intelligence was received in Calcutta that the Government of India had directed the Government of Bengal to commence house-to-house visitation. This rumour caused a fresh scare and a further exodus from Calcutta; and the poorer classes of the people seem to have become excited and suspicious.

European opinion in Calcutta is divided as to the expediency of segregation. A European merchant writes as follows to the editor of the *Indian Daily News*:—

I entirely agree with your leader of this date, but you are a little hard on exporters. I signed your memorial two days ago, and, although my firm would suffer severely were foreign countries closed to our goods, I am convinced that our choice lies between risking that or finding Calcutta closed entirely as a port by the flight of its Native inhabitants.

In the course of nearly 20 years' residence in Calcutta I have joined in several combined attempts on the part of European merchants to coerce the Native into amending a trade custom, or changing an established *dastur*. In no single instance have we succeeded, but have each time been baffled by the passive resistance, and in one case, the flight of the Native traders concerned.

Similarly, I am convinced that no Government will ever be able to establish anything so repugnant as segregation is to the inhabitants of Bengal. In Bombay the Natives resisted; in Poona they murdered; in Calcutta they will simply take to flight. There is no dealing with this last form of resistance; and segregation will only be established when no one remains in the city to be segregated.

The letter is dated May 7.

Opinions differ as to the utility of inoculation, but the leaders of Indian society and the supporters of the Congress are clearly setting what they believe to be a good example to the people. Rájá Benoy Krishna Deb Bahadur, with his whole family and his servants, was inoculated with Haffkine's serum on May 10 by the Health Officer of Calcutta. The poorer classes of the people in the neighbourhood, numbering about two thousand, assembled near his house and watched the process. When they saw that Rájá Benoy Krishna was not dead within two hours they seem to have concluded in their ignorance and suspicion that a mild poison was reserved for the upper classes, while a deadly poison was used for the lower classes.

The example set by Mr. Ganguli, Rájá Benoy Krishna, and other educated and leading citizens, suggests how much the Government of India can gain by accepting the co-operation of the educated classes, and how grievously they have blundered in alienating these classes by coercive measures. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says:—

The Government policy took a shape which produced mischief in two ways. The upper ten were flung away as a seditious lot; their friendly offers were rejected with scorn, and everything was done to throw them into apathy and despair. The upper ten have always and must always, from the nature of things, keep the lower classes in order. But they were distrusted, and the lower classes find themselves without responsible leaders and advisers. The time has now come for the Government to take the Natives of the soil into its confidence. Mere strong men and strong measures will not help the authorities in governing the country properly and well.

It appears from the official report of the plague riot at Garhshankar that nine of the rioters were shot down and twenty-seven wounded. The village is, we believe, a small one. The loss of life caused in suppressing the disturbance is lamentable.

One learns from the *Tribune* of Lahore that Maulvi Mahomet Yasuf Ali was lately arrested for sedition at Agra, where the occurrence created great excitement. The Maulvi, it would seem, was haranguing the crowd in the market square seeking, it was said, to persuade both Hindus and Mahometans to combine against plague regulations framed by the Government of the North-West Provinces, just as the people of Delhi had opposed the plague regulations of the Punjab Government, the rules being afterwards modified. He is said to have "stated in his defence that he did not suggest any opposition to lawful authority, but exhorted the Hindus and Mahometans to make common cause and employ constitutional means to obtain their wishes from Government. Seven witnesses were produced in support of this statement. The magistrate altered the charge from section 124A of the Indian Penal Code to section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code." In other words the charge of sedition failed and the magistrate called upon the defendant to show cause why he should not be bound over to keep the peace. We refrain from making any remarks in a case which is *sub judice*, but we cannot but regret that Indian authorities should be so hasty in formulating charges of sedition where apparently there is no sedition. It has since been reported that the magistrate ordered the Maulvi to furnish bail in his personal recognizances for 100 rupees and two sureties for 1,000 rupees each, and that the Maulvi failed to furnish the sureties, and was removed to gaol.

Public dissatisfaction with the Indian Currency Committee and the apprehensions of business men associated with Anglo-Indian trade continue to be manifested. Following the City of London memorial comes a memorial (which we print elsewhere) signed by over 1,000 manufacturers, bankers, and merchants of Manchester and the surrounding district—a district hardly less important and influential than London. The memorialists express their "misgivings respecting the vague and apparently limited nature of the reference," their strong feeling "that, to give satisfaction, the enquiry must be comprehensive and thorough," and their opinion that the following three points must be included:

(1) the suitability of a gold standard for India in the peculiar economic circumstances of that country;

(2) the practicability of introducing a gold standard and currency into India under conditions there prevailing; and

(3) the wisdom of a return to a silver standard, with mints open to the free and unrestricted coinage of that metal.

Their own view of course they reserve, but it appears to be sufficiently suggested. They further support the London memorial by submitting that "the Committee, as at present constituted, does not adequately represent the various interests affected, and might be judiciously strengthened by an addition to the number of those who possess practical knowledge and experience of the production, internal trade, and foreign commerce of the Dependency." Lord George Hamilton, by way of answer, sends them a copy of his reply to the London memorialists. At the same time Mr. Granville L. Acworth, late Chairman of the United Planters' Association of South India, writes to the *Times* in support of Mr. Ernest Tye's proposal that two members should be added "to represent the huge producing interests of India and Ceylon."

The currency doctors are let loose in the *Times*, with much collision indeed, but with little light struck out. There are, however, occasional glints to be discerned. Thus, Mr. F. C. Constable points out that the proposals of the Indian Government make no reference whatever "to the wants, rights, and internal trade of the three hundred millions of India," and he asks, very pertinently, whether the Committee is debarred from considering these points. So far, we do not observe that he has received any reply. A voice of sense also comes from the academic cloister—a rather surprising thing when our professors of political economy, almost to a man, are rank heretics in currency matters. Mr. T. W. Levin, an Intercollegiate Lecturer on Political Economy at Cambridge, points out the hardship imposed on the rayat by the closure of the mints, and the resulting social discontent. He says that "many competent authorities think this has been the main cause of the recent frontier disturbances;" and, if this view be even very partially correct, it is sufficiently suggestive that it is entertained at all. Mr. Levin adds this:

Natives have often told me that nothing reconciled the population of India to the British Raj so much as the transparency and honesty of the currency system; but since the closure of the mints there is no currency, no genuine coin at all, nothing but a medium of exchange having an artificial, false, and fluctuating value. If our Indian Government officials preserve any touch or sympathy with their Native dependants, they would surely realise the extreme danger of the present monetary situation in India.

Just so. But then "touch and sympathy" are conspicuous by their absence. Officialism has ceased even to pretend that it is in touch with the people; and sympathy is the subject of our constant prayer week after week. We are very much gratified, however, to see even two writers independently raising their voices on behalf of the people most deeply concerned in the whole enquiry.

Sir Robert Giffen, whose authority is universally acknowledged, has done yeoman's service by his vigorous letters against the adventurous course on which the Indian Government, with the assent of the Government at home, is clearly bent. He is reinforced by Mr. Thomas North Christie, lately a member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon—an adjunct of the Indian peninsula which has been calmly overlooked in the appointment of committee-men. "I have just returned from the East," he writes, "where the baneful effects of the 1893 policy are terribly in evidence, and the new policy seems so unsound, such a reversal of the usually accepted duties of a Government to its people in the matter of currency, that one would have expected its adoption to have been preceded by the widest and most searching enquiry." But, of course, he sees the game clearly enough. The Indian Government "deliberately and determinedly decline to allow any examination of their past policy and its effects." Such examination would also be inconveniently felt at Whitehall; and so, "make effective the policy of 1893" is the word. It is very little to the purpose to follow Sir Edgar Vincent into the special experiences of Egypt and Turkey, or to consider similar illustrations from other countries. The case of India is quite peculiar, and it ought to be treated on its own merits, and from the point of view it would adopt if it were in a position to speak for itself. But then it is not in such a position, and its interests must bend to the self-made necessities of its alien Government.

Sir John Lubbock quarrels with the expression "a gold standard," and says "an exchange standard" would be more accurate. No doubt that is so. The main currency must continue, in any case, to be silver. Exchange is the point of view of the Government; "it is not desirable," they say, "that legitimate business should be hampered and embarrassed by the uncertainty of exchange." Admitting this, of course, Sir John Lubbock points out that "business transactions may also be terribly hampered unless there is a sufficient elasticity in the currency"; and this, he fears, would not be secured by the proposals of the Government. Besides, he remarks on the possibly unfortunate result of making rupees "bearing the Queen's head" scarce in the East, and on the danger of exciting grave disaffection by the stopping of the conversion of silver ornaments into rupees—the latter being one of the points urged by Mr. Levin. Provisionally, Sir John suggests that the difficulty might best be met by a tolerably heavy duty on imported silver—say 1s. or even 2s. an ounce, which would be much less than the English duty on various articles of common use. The advantages he would anticipate are these:—

(1) It would prevent the rupee from falling below a certain value.
(2) It would reduce the difference in value between coined and uncoined silver.
(3) It would restore elasticity to the currency. Though no doubt it would for a time check the importation of silver, it would eventually bring in a considerable revenue.
(4) It would reduce the fluctuations of exchange.

If such a duty were imposed, "the coinage of rupees might be gradually resumed, and the mints eventually reopened." But even Sir J. Lubbock does not stop to consider the effects upon the Native population.

Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, who read a paper the other day to the East India Association on "The Railway Connexion of India and China," prepares us for developments on the Eastern side of the Indian Empire. "At all hazards," he affirms, "we must keep open the *Hinterlands* of Burma and Hong-Kong, and our approaches to the Upper Yang-tyze, if we mean to maintain ourselves in Central China, and to prevent the 'back way' to India from passing into the hands of potential enemies. The very existence of the nation is menaced, and the menace should be confronted to-day as it was in the past by a bold and determined stand." With all this fury of desire for markets, we cannot but repeat once more how strange it appears to us that our traders do not make more of the lands that are open to them without any necessity for "a bold and determined stand." With a rational Government, actuated by a single desire for peaceful development, what a field for British commerce might be found in India!

An Anglo-Indian correspondent writes:—"In an evening journal last week occurred these casual remarks:

It is the fashion now to offer British Imperial Credit for all purposes, and the practice is established. . . . . But there must be a limit to these transactions. The claims upon British credit are now so extensive that we can spare no more of it for guaranteeing war indemnities to the Sultan, etc.

It is strange, and yet not strange, that our London journalists entirely forget that it is not only 'the fashion,' but the settled obstinate resolve of our official financiers, in both parties, to refuse 'British Imperial Credit' in the one direction where, if they had the true Imperial instinct, they would have offered it first of all. For at least thirty years past the claim has been made again and again that 'British Imperial Credit' should be not only offered, but freely given in guarantee of the public debt of India, at least the sterling portion thereof.

"And now we are told that this 'fashion' of giving guarantees to decrepit despotisms and ricketty foreign States has gone so far that 'we can certainly spare no more of it'—though the first and most rightful claimant, that dependency which is ever boasted of as the chief glory of our imperial sway, is sternly denied this equitable aid. It is not only strange but ominous that the eyes even of independent journalists in our midst are blinded so that they cannot even *see* this flagrant disregard of most obvious imperial duty. But so it is. Next week one more of the Sibylline books will be proffered for acceptance to the House of Commons; and it is doubtful whether a single one of the wise and eminent authorities who hold the destiny of India in their hand will so much as dare to remind the High Court of Parliament that this oft-repeated appeal comes up once more."

"STRAINED RELATIONS."

"IF there is anything to-day which cannot escape the attention of even the most superficial observer of the times it is the present political situation. The relations between the Government and the Indian subjects are extremely strained." Such are the opening sentences of an interesting article in the current number of that useful publication, the *Madras Review*. The outstanding mark of the mischief in progress is the "paroxysm of legislative activity" that has seized the Indian Government. The position is stated clearly enough in one sentence—a very python of a sentence, which we venture to dissect:

> The nature of the provisions sought to be introduced, the elastic language in which they are worded so as to justify a resort to them under all conceivable circumstances to the disadvantage of the Indian subjects, the objects and reasons, often transparently disguised, stated in support of many of these new laws and amendments, the inexplicable suddenness with which they are sprung upon the Indian public, and the eager solicitude of the honourable members in charge of these Bills to pilot them through the Council with the greatest possible expedition and in defiance of all reasonable opposition—all these point to but one conclusion, viz.:
>
> That the body of politicians responsible for the government of the Indian empire have discovered all on a sudden some pernicious feature developing from unascertainable causes in the character of the Indian and portending to become, at no distant date, strong enough to shake the stability of the British administration; and
>
> That they have in consequence, being powerless to inaugurate measures for stamping out or even retarding the growth of that obnoxious feature, decided to introduce innovations in the existing laws of the land, these new provisions and amendments being deliberately so worded as to furnish ready means of warding off the baneful effects of the growing germ of discontent, which they do not see their way otherwise to check.

The writer sets forth on one side "the growing germ of discontent," and on the other side a blind "paroxysm of legislative activity," intended to kill the germ, yet fostering its growth instead. That is the present political situation, and it is sufficiently disquieting.

Having dealt at some length with the new legislative measures, we need not here follow the author in his comments on the Sedition Law, the Post Office Law, and the Code of Criminal Procedure. Perhaps his treatment of the first two is hardly adequate, if his object is to impress English readers. But it is only too true that "the changes in the existing law or additions thereto are neither necessary nor expedient, that the ostensible reasons advanced in support of them cannot stand scrutiny, that they are far from conducive to the prosperity of the Indian people." Every one of these points has been demonstrated conclusively. Beyond these legislative spasms, however, how far is it true that other features of the administration express the Government's lack of confidence in the loyalty of its subjects? First, then, there is "the Government's ill-concealed impatience of criticism." Public criticism is, indeed, the main means of indicating to the authorities where the shoe pinches. It is a commonplace that Government officers no longer know from close personal association with the people what the Indian feels and thinks; and it is plain that Government itself cannot have more light on the subject than is reflected by its officers. The free expression of dissatisfaction in all degrees not only exhibits the thought of the people affected, but also liberates feeling, which cannot be suppressed without untold danger. Bacon, as the writer in the *Madras Review* observes, truly says that "he that turneth the humors back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth maligne ulcers and pernicious impostumations." We may add that there is much wise matter besides in the same "Essay," which the Government of India might study with advantage. Thus: "The surest way to prevent Seditions (if the times doe beare it) is to take away the Matter of them." And again: "If Poverty and a broken Estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the meane people, the danger is imminent and great." Further points illustrated by the *Madras Reviewer* are: the thick-and-thin maintenance of the "prestige" of the Government, in other words, obstinate persistence in policy right or wrong; the reactionary tendency manifested in gagging the Press and in quarrelling with the spread of education; and the offensive exhibition of dislike to "the intellectually superior classes as such." On every one of these important points the reviewer says much that is well worthy of serious attention. For these are things which, "if persisted in, must have the inevitable effect of alienating the hearts of the Indian subjects from the Government."

To look now from the Government's point of view, what are "the features in the character of the subjects that condemn them in the eyes of some people?" The writer notes as first in importance "the belief of the Indian subjects that the Government is not doing all it ought to do for their welfare." To people who have been dosed with laudation of Government by its officers and sycophants, this allegation smacks of ingratitude. But then the Indians have ever before their eyes the Proclamation of 1858, and they chafe under the slow fulfilment of its gracious and generous promises. "It cannot," indeed, "be denied that the Indians are to-day enjoying rights and liberties which they had never dreamt of on the day of the Proclamation, and which they had perhaps not enjoyed even when they were ruled by one of themselves." For all that, the awakened spirit craves fuller satisfaction. Besides, "there have been lapses on the part of the Government, and the Indian subjects have been more than disagreeably disappointed by palpable and unjustifiable violations of the Government of the golden rule embodied in the Proclamation; by the granting of unlooked-for concessions to the Anglo-Indian, and by the withholding of long-enjoyed privileges from the Indians; by the raising of incompetent Anglo-Indians and Europeans to lucrative offices under the State, and by the supplanting of Natives of proved efficiency; by the granting of munificent allowances to Englishmen enjoying long periods of superfluous recess at home, and paying the statutory Indian civilian only a portion of the pay which he would get for his work if he was fairer made by God." The reviewer, however, liberally makes allowances for the ruling class. Another point is "assertiveness in the Press and on the platform," said to be characteristic of the modern Indian. This is a result of Western ideas, and is really that flattery which is usually said to be sincerest—the flattery of imitation. We say nothing of the "obtrusive independence" of the modern Indian, particularly in view of another article in the same *Review*, entitled "On Manner," and addressed specially by an Indian to Indians.

The final matter for consideration is the causes which have materially contributed to bring us to this deplorable situation. These we have partly anticipated by incidental reference. There is the extraordinary change from the old system, which brought English officials and Indians into close relations, and thus into larger sympathy, to the new system of isolation, with its resulting distrust and dislike, founded on ignorance and pride of ascendency. This exclusiveness of the Englishman in India is not merely "a significant cause of the present situation," but the most dangerous element in the whole system of Government. More than dangerous, it is fatal. The operation of Western civilisation and education has effected the beginning of a period of transition—a transition on an enormous scale and in multifarious forms; and every period of transition demands not only ability in the rulers, but above all patience, sympathy, knowledge, and foresight. We wish we could believe that the authorities recognised this fundamental fact; for the recognition of it makes the difference between a beneficent and a disastrous revolution. Revolution it is, willy-nilly; but it lies in our power to guide it in safe and vivifying channels. On the religious side, there is much that we cannot agree with, but there is little that we need fail to understand. We are bound on all grounds to look at historical explanations, and patiently to bear with, and to guide as delicately as we may, forces that we cannot by any possibility break down by direct opposition. Historically considered, the revolution is proceeding at a rate unparalleled in history; and yet some of us are impatient. The reviewer justly complains of the contemptuous and provocative attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press. That depends chiefly on the spirit of the authorities for the time being. It is a lamentable exhibition of folly and meanness. It is difficult to bear, we know; but Indians may perhaps take some comfort from the reflection that it in no way finds approval among the mass of the population of Great Britain.

MR. GHOSE'S "SONGS AND ELEGIES."[1]

THE latest historian of Indian literature, writing sympathetically of the various attempts at English verse composition made by educated Indians in recent years, has spoken of the "enormous difficulties which lie even before the most gifted" in the execution of their self-imposed task. A very special literary interest attaches, therefore, to the achievement of Mr. Manmohan Ghose, an Indian member, we believe, of the Indian Civil Service, whose "Love Songs and Elegies" form the latest number of Mr. Elkin Mathews's "Shilling Garland." To attain a place in that series, after the remarkable success of Mr. Stephen Phillips's "Christ in Hades" and Mr. Newbolt's "Admirals All," is in itself a literary distinction; and it may be said at once that Mr. Ghose's verses are fully worthy both of the dainty dress and of the select company in which they find themselves. The technical excellences of the poems are very striking. Mr. Ghose chooses difficult metres, and he manages them with the freedom of a master. The only fault that can be alleged against him is a certain licence in the use of assonances instead of rhymes, after the fashion deliberately adopted by Mrs. Browning. The point is fairly arguable to a certain extent. It might conceivably be maintained, for instance, that assonances, used as they are used by Mr. Ghose in his admirable No. VIII, at definitely recurring intervals, are a pleasing variation from strict rhyme. But the licence is one that a poet ought to use very cautiously; there can be no doubt that Mrs. Browning's laxity in this respect has cost her the sympathy of many lovers of poetry. To pass to higher qualities, Mr. Ghose's songs have the genuine lyrical thrill. To prove this, it is only necessary to quote the first, which is also the shortest, and may, therefore, be given in full:—

Heap ruby upon amethyst,
Exhaust the deep seas of their pearl:
My lips are richer, being kissed
By the sweet rose lips of a girl.
Her heart is white with angel truth,
Her heart is red with love's own fire;
She is the snowdrop of my youth,
She is the rose of my desire.

In one sense, no doubt, there is nothing new in this. You will find it all, for instance, in the two dainty stanzas of "Summum Bonum" in Mr. Browning's last volume, "Asolando." But as the experience itself, old as the race, is always new to every lover, so it is one of the triumphs of poetry to find new individual expression for things old and universal. There is nothing in Mr. Ghose's volume so remarkable in this way as the line in Mr. Phillips's "Christ in Hades," which describes the trees as standing

Motionless in an ecstasy of rain—

a line which, absolutely simple as it is, lays hold of the imagination as the perfect and final revelation in words of something we have all felt and waited to express. It is only when a poet gives us some word or line on which this seal of finality is unmistakably set that we can safely predict his immortality; and Mr. Ghose, who is still young, has this triumph yet to win. Whether he will ever win it in English poetry, it is too soon to say. Mr. R. W. Frazer, who has already been quoted at the beginning of this article, is clearly of opinion that any attempt of an Indian poet to write in English is foredoomed to failure; that the results, however perfect in technical execution, will never form a permanent addition to either English or Indian literature, because the English language cannot be made to reproduce either the plaintive cadences or the rich colour and imagery of an oriental tongue. Be this as it may, Mr. Ghose's English songs, even if they lack finality, have all the three requisites which Milton demanded of poetry—simplicity, sensuousness, passion—the first essentials of the successful lyric. Nos. III, V, VIII, and X are all delightful; but if any one poem is to be selected as marking the highest point yet reached by the author, it must be No. VII, "The Orchard." Here is the first stanza:—

O lateness sweeter than May's first hope, O
unexpected September!
Thy sweetness how shall I tell?
O laden orchard, O bending chance, and she in
the fruited bower!
True as the ripening peach to its taste is destiny
to her hour.
Love, ripened yesterday, fell:
Its utter sweetness let me remember.

Mr. Ghose, who is a classical scholar, will know how to value the compliment if we say that the poem recalls the lines in Virgil's eighth Eclogue which Macaulay preferred to anything in Latin literature—

Saepibus in nostris parvam te roscida mala
(Dux ego vester eram) vidi cum matre legentem.

Such juxtapositions of new and old poetry are always perilous; but Matthew Arnold has taught us that they furnish the true touchstone by which the new should be tried; and it is the best testimony to Mr. Ghose's "Orchard" to say that its blossoms do not lose their own fragrance by reminding us of the dearer fragrance of that immortal orchard of the old world.

[1] "Love-Songs and Elegies." By Manmohan Ghose. "The Shilling Garland." London: Elkin Mathews.

PARLIAMENT AND THE NEW PRESS LAW OF INDIA.

By E. H. Pickersgill, M.P.,
Of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law.

"PAPERS *relating to* Amendments in the Law *relating to* Sedition and Defamation" have at last been presented to Parliament by Lord George Hamilton. Considering the leisurely manner in which these documents have been prepared for publication, I cannot congratulate the stylists of the India Office upon the use of the same phrase in two different senses within the narrow limits of this title. But I pass on to much more serious matters than verbal criticism.

Two facts of the gravest importance are disclosed in the correspondence contained in these papers. In the first place we now learn that the principal change just effected in the substantive law of India relating to sedition not only originated with Lord George Hamilton, but actually was forced by him upon the Government of India in face of their express and deliberate judgment to the contrary. The Viceroy and his Council wished to leave Section 124A of the Penal Code as it was. In their letter, dated the 14th October last, they informed the Secretary of State that "we consider that it is not necessary *or desirable* to amend the section"; and they assigned as the ground of their decision that "two of the highest courts in India have laid it down that Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code does in substance reproduce the law of sedition in force in the United Kingdom." But the Secretary of State over-ruled the Government of India. In his despatch of December 6 last, in reply to the letter quoted above, he announced that "I have come to the conclusion that the section should be revised"; and he enclosed a draft for this purpose. The draft clause was of course dutifully accepted by the Government of India, but it is only right to state that its terms were somewhat mitigated during its passage through the Legislative Council of the Viceroy. I would not, however, for the world deprive Lord George Hamilton of the honour and glory to be derived from the authorship of the original document. It is, therefore, set out at length below:—

124A. Whoever by words, either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise, excites, or attempts to excite hatred, contempt, or disaffection towards the Queen or the Government, or promotes or attempts to promote feelings of ill-will between different classes of the Queen's subjects, shall be punished with transportation for life, or for any term to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.

Explanation 1. Disaffection includes all feelings of ill-will.

Explanation 2. The making of comments upon the measures of Government with intent to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting, or attempting to excite hatred, contempt, or disaffection is not an offence.

I invite the particular attention of the electors of Ealing to Explanation 2. I am sure that they will gratefully recognise the gracious condescension exhibited by their representative in tracing the lines within which criticism of Government *may* be tolerated.

The second important fact disclosed by the correspondence is that the indecent haste with which these changes in the criminal law were hurried through the Legislative Council was prompted from home. With this view, although a Bill to consolidate the whole law of criminal procedure was at the time pending in the Legislative Council, Lord George Hamilton actually suggested to the Government of India that the proposed changes in procedure relating to sedition should be included in the Penal Code Bill, or, in the alternative, should be introduced as a separate measure,

passed at once, and subsequently incorporated in their proper place in the consolidating Bill.

It is very significant that the whole course of proceeding in regard to this legislation was abnormal. The Government of India deliberately omitted the obnoxious provisions from the original Bills, and the public knew nothing about them until December 28, when Mr. Chalmers proposed the amendments to the Legislative Council. On page 14 of the Blue-book there is printed a pretentious list of "publications" of the Bills, both in the English *Gazettes* and in the vernacular languages; but all these "publications" took place prior to December 28, when for the first time the all-important provisions were disclosed! And further, as the Hon. Joy Law complained, "while it had always been the practice to refer all Bills of any importance for the opinions of representative bodies and associations, in the present case no such reference was made."

And now that papers have been laid before Parliament, we have much reason to complain of the incompleteness of their contents. The dissenting minutes of Mr. Charlu and of the Máháráján of Durbhanga, appended to the report of the Select Committee on the Penal Code Bill, are included; but why have the minutes of Mr. Sayani and of Pandit Bishambhar Nath, dissenting from the report of the Select Committee on the Criminal Procedure Bill, been omitted? Again, we ought to have had a reprint of the full text of the proceedings in the Legislative Council, as it originally appeared in the *Gazette of India*. Parliament and the public should have had an opportunity of perusing the admirable speeches against the proposals of the Government, delivered by distinguished Indian members of the Council, and of contrasting these with the kind of language which high-placed officials like Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, thought it seemly to apply to his Indian fellow-subjects. We ought also to have been furnished with copies of at all events the more important of the memorials presented against the proposed legislation, including that from the Bombay Presidency Association, which, owing to the breathless haste of the Government, had to be telegraphed to Calcutta; the representations of the "historic" British Indian Association, which prayed the Government to grant two months' grace for the consideration of the proposed changes; and, most significant perhaps of all, the protest of the Calcutta Bar. Mr. Charlu stated that the Indian officials who were consulted respecting the Penal Code Bill "counselled with one voice against the measure." These representations also should have been included in the Blue-book.

It is not necessary for me in this article to do more than touch upon the salient points of the new legislation, as I have already discussed its provisions in detail in the columns of INDIA. I have shown, I hope conclusively, that the new Section 124A does not represent the English law of sedition as it exists to-day, but the English law of sedition as it existed more than one hundred years ago, and before Fox's famous Libel Act had been passed. We seem to be carried back to the era of the case of *R. v. Tutchin*, anno domini 1704, when it was laid down as law that "any publication tending to beget an ill opinion of Government is seditious." As regards the effect of the change in India, I much prefer to quote from the memorial of the Calcutta Bar, rather than to express in other words my own opinion. This document, under date February 17 last, states as follows:—

> The result of the Penal Code Amendment Bill will make it penal among other things
> (1) Effectively to criticise the policy of the Government with reference, *e.g.*, to the present war beyond the frontier:
> (2) Effectively to oppose and to give utterance to the feelings of the people, or a section of the people, against a proposed tax that may be considered oppressive:
> (3) To present a petition for the redress of serious grievances, showing the existence of such grievances hitherto unredressed;
> and to leave it in the discretion of the Executive Government to prosecute or not.

It may be worth while to point out that the Indian members of the Legislative Council made strenuous efforts to import into the new definition of sedition a clear indication of *intent*, but they were overborne by the English and official members. There can be no doubt that the gist of the offence of sedition in this country is a seditious intention. This has been the law of England since the close of the great controversy which culminated in the passing of Fox's Libel Act in 1792.

But let us even assume, for the sake of argument, and if it is so desired, that the substantive law of sedition now established in India reproduces the substantive law of sedition as it exists in this country. Then we are confronted with the question which Pandit Bishambhar Nath asks in his dissenting minute—"If the law of sedition is to be assimilated to the law of England, why should not the same safeguards be extended here which the humanity of the law allows there?" But so far from extending safeguards, the new legislation deliberately takes away such safeguards as previously existed in India. The jurisdiction now for the first time given to magistrates to try cases of sedition, coupled with the power conferred upon them, by section 108, to require security for good behaviour from persons who (they are informed) are disseminating seditious matter in their districts, practically bring the vernacular newspapers under a complete official control. These provisions virtually revive, in another form, Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act of 1878. As Sir William Markby (formerly a judge of the Calcutta High Court) has well said, "The state of things now established in India would be paralleled here if Press offences could be dealt with by the heads of the police, and care was taken that the heads of the police should always be warm partisans of the Government." Hence I can only regard as hollow and unreal the repudiation of the Vernacular Press Act by the Government of India in their letter of October 14, and their declaration that "we think it of the highest importance that the action authorised by the law should be taken not by the Executive Government, but through the courts, in the ordinary course of law." As for the provision that magistrates of the first class upon whom this jurisdiction is conferred must be specially authorised by the Government, it is no safeguard at all; indeed, it is rather the reverse, if one may judge from experience gained during the coercion period in Ireland ten years ago, when the Government selected for special services, and invested with special powers, those among the magistrates who were the most pliant instruments of their purpose.

As soon as Parliament reassembles, it will be an imperative duty to press Lord George Hamilton to give a day for the discussion of these momentous changes. We have, I think, grave reason to complain that the Secretary of State has already informed the Government of India that the new legislation will be "left to its operation." When the subject was raised by the amendment of Mr. Herbert Roberts in the debate on the Address, Lord George Hamilton declined to discuss the matter upon the ground that the Bills were still pending in the Legislative Council, while the Attorney-General merely delivered himself of a few perfunctory sentences, in which he declared that the proposed changes only reproduced the existing law of sedition in England. It will now be necessary that the whole matter should be thoroughly threshed out. It is clear that the grounds upon which Mr. Chalmers based the necessity for his proposals have absolutely broken down. "Language," he said, "may be tolerated in England which it is unsafe to tolerate in India. Look at the Poona murders." The most strenuous attempts were made to connect the assassination of Mr. Rand with Press criticism. But now it must be taken as clearly proved that the cowardly crime proceeded from a quarter where the healthy influence of Press criticism and constitutional agitation had never penetrated. In fact there is not the least warrant for supposing that in any of the recent disturbances seditious designs were entertained against Government. The so-called "licence" of the Poona Press has exposed the mal-administration of the plague-relief operations, and has enabled Government to reorganise their system upon more humane and politic lines.

"INDIA REVISITED."[1]

A PAMPHLET first issued some twelve years ago might now seem hardly worthy of attention, but it is the misfortune of India that but little progress has been made in that time, while even what has been gained is threatened by the prevailing spirit of panic and reaction; so that the problems confronting us in that country remain to all intents and purposes the same. The pamphlet is the work of a man who adds to high business capacity much

[1] "India Revisited: its Social and Political Problems," by Samuel Smith, M.P. London: William Isbister, Ltd.

sympathy with India, and even at this date it will repay careful perusal. The author, indeed, sees India with English eyes, and to some extent apparently with English prejudices—not, it is true, with those of the official, or the soldier, or the Imperialist, but still of one who has no doubt that English civilisation and religion are not only the best in the world, but are also in their general outlines applicable to all nations. This is not perhaps quite the way to understand the deeper meanings of Indian civilisation, or the strength and weakness of Indian society. Thus Mr. Smith speaks of "those foolish caste prejudices which have been the bane of India for thousands of years," forgetting, it would seem, how much caste has aided in resistance to oppression, and how it has often stemmed the flood of foreign ideas. Is it desirable that every custom of the conquerors, whether good or evil, should find acceptance, and the Indians become only the feeble imitators of Europe? Is it not rather to be hoped that India will take to herself whatever the West has to offer, provided it be in harmony with her own civilisation, so that she may rise to a new life which shall yet be continuous with the old?

But this English view is not always so apparent; and it is seen least of all when Mr. Smith is dealing, not with social and religious customs, but with those economic questions for which his experience in business so well fits him. Thus he says:—

> I can hardly express my sense of the danger of applying to India the latest forms of European thought.

And again:—

> I foresee that one of the great dangers of the future is in forcing on India the fiscal and economical maxims of England, for which she is quite unprepared.

Indeed on all Indian economic questions Mr. Smith is especially sound, seeing clearly that the great central difficulty of the situation is the constant drain of wealth from India to England. A right appreciation of this difficulty is perhaps the best test by which to separate those who have a real understanding of the Indian question from the mass of political triflers, bent only on patching up, who may find fault with this or that detail of administration and finance, but fail to see that the system which demands this exhausting tribute is economically bad to the very root. In spite of all that has been said on the subject, Mr. Smith's exposition of it will bear repeating:—

> The Natives press this point against us; they argue that as India exports annually 20 to 25 millions, for which there is no commercial return, she is drained of her wealth to that extent. The case will appear even stronger if we consider that the value of the imports of any country includes the cost of carrying the goods, viz., freight and commercial charges, and consequently nearly every country shows a greater value of imports than exports. The United Kingdom, it is well known, shows an annual net surplus of over 100 millions sterling of imports, of which about half represents freight and the remainder interest on foreign investments. All European countries show a surplus of imports, more or less, and if India were only to receive the exact equivalent of her exports, she ought to import 90 to 100 millions, including bullion, in place of 60 to 70 millions as she does now, so that the real balance of trade against India appears to be some 30 millions annually.

Another point which the author very well explains, in opposition to the foolish optimists who see the unalloyed prosperity of India in the extension of trade, is the ruin of the old manufactures of the country:—

> It is hardly realised in England, that our cheap machine-made goods have destroyed the bulk of the old hand-made manufactures of India. At one time a considerable part of the population was so employed. India now imports about 35 millions worth of manufactured goods, chiefly cotton cloth, hardware and pottery, which were once made at home. If we allow £2 per head as the annual income of each person in India, the making of their goods must once have sustained about 17 millions of people. Now they are imported, no doubt at a cheaper cost, and according to the formulæ of political economy the labour and capital so employed can be turned to more profitable directions, and India be a great gainer; but it so happens that the hand-loom weavers and the small artificers who made these goods in this simple native fashion, and as a hereditary calling, had no other trade to turn to. The capital which was their trained handicraft was destroyed, and they had either to starve, or take up vacant land for farming, or become coolies. Most of them took to agriculture; but it was a hard struggle to live, for all the good soil was already taken up, and they had to reclaim from the jungle barren land, on which they could barely subsist. The general result has been to make India more than ever a country of poor peasants, with little variety of pursuits. Of course this process greatly increases the foreign trade. The people of India require to export a large portion of the produce of the soil, in order to buy their clothing and utensils, and another large portion to liquidate the "Home charges" and private remittances made to England. When thus analysed, it will be seen that it is futile to reckon increase of foreign trade as equivalent to increase of wealth; it is rather a substitution of foreign for domestic exchange. The food and raw produce are exchanged against the cloth and hardware of England, instead of against the products of innumerable small makers at home.

Now, indeed, there is a set in the opposite direction, and though the old weavers have gone for ever, the mills of Bombay are competing with those of Lancashire. Some, however, may think the sudden rise of crowded and ill-organised manufacturing towns but a slight compensation for the loss of the village industries of India.

Another point dealt with very clearly is the loss India would suffer if her taxation were to be regulated by the convenience of English manufacturers. The Government is enormously expensive. The country is incredibly poor. And it is therefore necessary to raise a large revenue by heavy taxation. But the whole feeling of the Indians is against direct taxation, which both the theories and the interests of the English make them wish to impose. Mr. Smith says:—

> The unanimous opinion of all who know India well is that it is not suited for direct taxation; the fiscal and economical canons of advanced countries like England are altogether untrue as applied to India. There are few greater dangers which beset British rule in India than this tendency to apply crudely to it the latest deductions of political economy in England.

Nor are the other evils of India under English rule put forward less plainly. The increase of land-tax and the consequent discouragement of agricultural improvements, the enforcement of English laws of contract, to the great gain of the money-lender, the virtual exclusion of the Indians from the government of their own country—all these questions are treated with excellent good sense. Nor does it by any means detract from the value of Mr. Smith's testimony that in some points he is—like ourselves—a great admirer of English rule; that he is quite ready to admit much of the official case; that irrigation and missionaries move him to enthusiasm; and that he insists that India has got a good return for much of her indebtedness. Here he seems perhaps to have missed the chief consideration. All the improvements which he admires may be excellent; but if they are too dear for the country, if their final result is to plunge the country into greater poverty than ever, then it would be better for India to have done without them at the present stage. Civilisation, as Mr. Smith calls it, and still more compulsory civilisation, may be purchased at too dear a cost.

Finally, this is the programme the author puts before his countrymen:—

> We have to conduct India successfully through the various stages that separate a subject province from a self-governing colony.

It is to be feared that in the years that have passed since this work was written, the Government of India has gone further away from this ideal; and yet who will venture to put forward the only alternative—perpetual servitude?

MISS OLIVE MAY AT ARRAH.

By Donald N. Reid.

Two Europeans were pacing up and down the platform of the Arrah railway station in the afternoon of an intensely hot day in May.

"The mail-train from Calcutta has been signalled, I think," said the stouter and shorter man of the two.

"Yes, she will be here in a few minutes," replied his companion.

"Thank goodness! We shall soon be under a punkah again in a dark room. This station is like an oven, and the glare is very trying to one's eyes." The speaker was Frank May, a magistrate and collector of the North-Western Provinces, who had obtained two days' privilege leave for the purpose of meeting his sister from England. The other man was May's brother-in-law, a Behar indigo-planter named Martin MacQueen, who had wooed and won his wife during the voyage from London to India three years before. Martin was therefore a stranger to the girl who was now arriving by train.

"Here she comes at last," cried Frank May; and in a few minutes he was holding the rosy-cheeked Olive in a brotherly embrace. Then introducing her to MacQueen, he said, "This is your three-year-old brother, isn't he a monster for his age?"

Miss May smilingly held out her hand to Martin, and remarked, "Somebody's food for infants has certainly worked wonders in the forcing climate of India."

At this moment Olive's escort was seen approaching the group from the other end of the train.

"Hallo! here is the lac man from Mirzapur," shouted Frank May, who had a florid style of expressing himself. "Well, my budding Bismarck, how is the world treating you?"

"So, so. It gives me just enough to buy bread and butter, since lac has become a declining industry for the white man," replied the little German merchant, who had kindly looked after Miss May during the journey from Calcutta. "But I must say good-bye, as the train is about to start."

"Good-bye, Mr. Schmidt, and thank you very much for your kindness. You will forgive me for having pestered you with questions," said the girl.

"Certainly, my dear young lady, certainly," mumbled the German, who exchanged a comical look with Frank May as he turned to run for his seat in the train.

"And so that is the last of Mr. Schmidt," thought Olive, watching a cloud of dust which marked the path of the vanishing train. "I am afraid that the poor little man found me a bit of a bore."

"Come along, let us get out of this heat," said May. "Martin's chaprasi will look after your boxes, and bring them to the dāk bungalow."

"Martin MacQueen and I have been talking over your future plans," he continued, as his sister appeared in the sitting-room, after having refreshed herself with a cold bath and a cup of warm tea. "We are both anxious to have you as a companion; and our wives are both dying to see you. Mabel is now at Naini Tāl with the children, and you can join them in a day or two if you come with me to Baniyapur. But we leave you to choose between the wild delights of Naini Tāl society and the bliss of a Behar indigo factory."

"It is very good of you, dear Frank," said Olive. "But I never did care about society; and as I have come to India to study the habits of the people, I think that I should prefer to go with Martin to Ramgarh."

"Very well, please yourself in the matter," replied her brother.

"If that is your reason for coming to India," observed MacQueen, "I must introduce you at the first opportunity to my friend Kenneth Macrae."

"Who is he?" enquired May.

"Oh, a planter in the Chapra district, who spends his money on fads and experiments in attempting to ameliorate the condition of the rayats. He is a very good fellow, all the same, and a great friend of ours. Amy declares that he is the only planter in Behar who has a thought above money-making, polo, and pigsticking."

"I have heard of him from Mr. Rudston," remarked Olive, with an amused expression on her face. "He was in Calcutta the other day; but he refused to wait for me and act as my escort during the railway journey."

"Did he?" said Martin with a loud laugh.

"Yes, indeed he did, although, for the matter of that, I am quite capable of looking after myself."

"Well," said Martin, "we must now arrange to get across the sands to Chapra. I have got two polo ponies here, and I brought a lady's saddle in case you preferred to ride. Or would you like a palki?"

"Oh, I would much sooner ride," replied Olive.

"Wise girl," responded Martin. "We shall have an early dinner to-night, and then you can sleep comfortably until about four in the morning, when we start for Chapra. It is only sixteen miles from here. I suppose you have a light riding-habit handy in one of your boxes?"

"Oh, yes."

"Very well, take it out, and I shall then send on your things by bullock-cart. Those heavy carts take a long time ploughing through the sands on the banks of the Ganges. The river is very low at present, as the rayats in the canal-irrigated districts of Upper India are using all the available water for their crops; and it is really the Gogra that is feeding the bed of the Ganges at this end."

"Now that you have completed your arrangements," said May, "come with me to have a look at the house where Herwald Wake made his famous stand against old Kúar Singh's rabble and two thousand rebel sepoys from Dinapur."

"Oh, that's all ancient history by this time, Frank dear. Besides, I know all about the siege of Arrah from reading the 'History of the Sepoy Mutiny.' Do take me for a walk to the canal which I saw from the train just before we entered the station."

"Well, you have funny tastes for a young woman," replied her brother.

"This is a scheme that is doomed to fail from a commercial point of view," he added, as they were walking along the banks of the Arrah canal. "These canals are like a man with only one lung, owing to the fact that there are no reservoirs provided for the storage of water. The river Son, which supplies the water, has a maximum discharge of over 800,000 cubic feet a second in the rainy season; but in the hot weather it falls as low as 450 cubic feet. So under these circumstances the canal will never pay."

"Then why don't they build the necessary reservoirs?" asked Olive.

"Between you and me and the wall," said her brother, "the Government has not got the money to spare to give the finishing touches to a canal scheme, so as to make it perfect. Every farthing that is scraped together goes in this Afghan war which is being waged by Lord Lytton and his advisers. They won't even allow that there is a famine in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, although the death-rate of this year is nearly one hundred per cent. more than it was last season. Indeed, the sum total of deaths in the two provinces during February of this year was more than treble those recorded in February last year. Being a collector of one of these districts, I know what I am talking about; and I am not exaggerating."

"But come, let us get back to the dark bungalow for dinner," suddenly said Frank, who dreaded an outburst of indignant wrath from his sister, the "Radical." "I shall lose the train for Baniyapur if we don't look sharp."

When dinner was over, May remarked, "I must now be making tracks for the station. Good-bye, Olive dear. Remember, please, not to worry yourself too much about the condition of the Behar peasantry. India is not like England, and the lot of the people is very different in this country from that of the Ketton villagers, for instance. So always keep in mind the fact that you are not in Suffolk."

"There is no need to remind me of that. Good-bye, dear Frank, and remember to send my love to Mabel and the little ones at Naini Tāl."

After a refreshing sleep under the punkah, Miss May ate her chota harri next morning by candle-light, at the early hour of 3.30 a.m. The ponies, already saddled, were being walked up and down in front of the verandah by their syces. Presently the girl, accompanied by Martin, went out to inspect them.

"Oh, what a beauty that grey pony is," exclaimed Olive.

"Isn't he handsome?" replied MacQueen. "He was given to Amy as a wedding present by Kenneth Macrae. But he is an awful little badmash, and Amy is now afraid to ride him."

"Oh, do let me have a try. Tell the man to change the saddles."

"You had really better stick to 'Long John,' as he is used to carrying a lady. There is no knowing what trick 'Godfrey' may play you, if you attempt to ride him."

"I will risk it," said the girl, "so do have the saddles changed."

"But, my dear Olive, that pony 'Godfrey' is a perfect little fiend," remonstrated Martin. "He ran away the other day from the polo ground with Bunny, taking him straight through the tank without stopping, and nearly knocked his brains out at the stable door."

"Who is the unhappy individual called Bunny?"

"Oh, that's only a nickname; his real name his Rabbits. He is an assistant at a factory near Ramgarh."

"One of your numerous satellites, I suppose," laughed Olive. "I have heard all about you from Amy. She wrote and told me that your system of dispensing hospitality at Ramgarh is quite patriarchal, and that the young men of the district are attached to you like the clansmen of old."

"Don't chaff, Olive. Allow me to help you on to 'Long John.'"

'No," replied the girl, "I won't leave this bungalow until you give me 'Godfrey' to ride."

"Very well," said the unhappy Martin, "you may ride him. But I don't know what Amy will say if you come to grief."

The saddles were then changed, and the travellers started gaily in the early morning for a sixteen mile ride from Arrah to Chapra.

"Godfrey" (instinctively feeling that he had a lady who was without fear on his back) behaved like a lamb. At first the riders had to pick their way carefully through the narrow streets of the town of Arrah, where crowds of sleeping natives lined most of the available space outside the houses. It was a weird and rather ghastly sight to see them stretched out on the ground like so many corpses enveloped in white shrouds, and Olive's thoughts instinctively reverted to the mummies in the British Museum as a fitting simile for the occasion. When the ponies got on to the road outside the town they broke into a smart canter, which was kept up until the ghat on the Ganges was reached. The sun was making its appearance above the horizon as the boatmen proceeded to punt the large flat-bottomed ferry-boat into the stream of the sacred Ganges.

"What a pleasant cool breeze comes off the river," remarked Olive, taking her hat from her head, so as to allow the wind free play through her hair.

"Yes, isn't it delightful?" said Martin, who was intent on keeping the ponies quiet on the ricketty deck of bamboos.

"And the sun, look at it!" exclaimed Olive. "There is nothing wicked about its appearance at present; but I am afraid that it will develop into a merciless tyrant before the day is much older. Oh! what is that? The black thing that got up close to the stern of the boat."

"Only a porpoise," replied Martin. "There are any number in these rivers. Their oil is first-rate stuff for keeping leather soft in this trying climate, and I always use it for my harness. See, there is a turtle floating on the water."

"Oh! do let us catch it, and bring it along with us to the Buchanans'."

"The turtles feed on the dead bodies which are thrown into these large rivers," said Martin, "so only fishermen and low-caste natives eat them."

"How cool the water is compared with the temperature of the air," said Olive, playing with her hands in the river.

"It is a snow-fed river from the Himalayas, and acts as one of the lungs of India," replied her companion. "Here we are at the Chapra side of the Ganges; we must hurry on to the Buchanans', as I don't want you to be laid up with a sunstroke in crossing the burning sands."

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

THERE is but one subject about which men in London—and I have no doubt in many another city all over the world—were talking at the end of last week and at the beginning of this, and that was the funeral of Gladstone. It happened to be my lot, my privilege, to see much of the preliminary rite, if that is the correct way of describing the lying in state in Westminster Hall. Somehow or other I do not care for the idea of a lying in state. There appears to be an element of ghastly artificiality connected with it when the dead body is tricked out in finery and exposed to the public gaze. That accounts, I expect, for the repugnance with which the average Englishman regards such a ceremony. But all the repulsive or objectionable elements were absent from the lying in state of Gladstone. Nothing was to be seen but his coffin on the plainest catafalque imaginable, with six wax candles and a gilt cross. He himself had forbidden flowers and enjoined simplicity in connexion with his funeral rites, and his injunctions were obeyed to the letter.

Yet during two whole days, from six in the morning until after sunset, a great solemn, reverent throng went past that coffin as it lay in Westminster Hall, unresting, unhasting, until during the two days more than 300,000 men, women, and children had marched through. I have explained that there was nothing to see, nothing to attract mere vulgar curiosity, and yet all day long the great stream continued to pass through the old historic hall. That roof has looked down on many a famous and impressive scene, but never, I will undertake to say, on anything more impressive than this tribute to the dead.

Deeply, however, as that simple tribute touched me, I must acknowledge that the burial service in Westminster Abbey on Saturday was even more memorable. I do not suppose that there has ever before been such a funeral. Many and many a time has there been a more gorgeous display, with greater pomp and more glittering pageantry, but for stately simplicity and real grandeur the burial of Gladstone remains as unique as was his career.

He rests in the North Transept of the Abbey, just beneath the monument of his great antagonist Beaconsfield, and not far from the monument to his old friend and leader Peel. I had been given a seat close to the Peel statue, and was therefore able to follow all the incidents of as moving and emotional a scene as I have ever witnessed. Indeed, it is impossible to give in print any real idea of the waves of emotion and of deep feeling which seemed to roll through the great building every now and then. For some of the incidents were really overwhelming, and the music was so superb and so touching as to add greatly to what may be termed the feeling of tenderness—I use the word because I know no other more suitable—which at times overcame everyone.

The Abbey filled very early, though owing to excellent arrangements there was no crush and no disorder. Where I was seated I could see the various personages coming in up the nave, and by the time that everyone had entered there was in that building the very pick and flower of the intellectual life of the country, all come to do honour to the memory of one whom they would admit was greater than any of the men he has left behind. It was while I was watching the various arrivals that suddenly there was a movement and all rose to their feet. A moment later I saw why—a venerable lady in deep black, leaning upon the arm of a gentleman, was slowly moving up the nave. It was Mrs. Gladstone, being supported by her son, Mr. Henry Gladstone. It was one of the most pathetic sights I ever looked upon, this lady of eighty-six, white-haired, white-faced, in deepest mourning, coming to take a last farewell of him who had been everything to her for nearly sixty years. She moved slowly along, yet there was no sign of real weakness, the face was calm and gentle and the walk dignified, yet how touching it all was! It was a sight that one must have seen to be able to understand it in all its true emotional bearings. A few minutes later we all rose again, as the Princess of Wales and the Duchess of York entered with two other ladies, all in the deepest mourning.

Meantime the organ and the other instruments had filled the lofty arches with music so mournful and so appropriate, that as it pulsated and throbbed through the great church, it appealed not only to the imagination and to the heart, but it thrilled even the very nerves of one's body. It was while the great notes of Beethoven's Funeral March were filling the air that the great procession from the Hall of Westminster reached the western doors of the Abbey. It was a notable gathering of men. First came the Commons led by the Speaker in state robes, preceded by the Mace. He was followed by about 400 members of all parties and sections. Slowly they moved along to the special seats reserved for them, about twenty minutes being required to get them all in their places. Then came Privy Councillors, next more than 100 members of the House of Lords, headed by the Lord Chancellor, who was preceded not only by the Mace but also by the Great Seal. There were a dozen bishops along with the temporal peers, their robes forming a picturesque touch in the procession. After the peers come a very interesting group of men, the members of Mr. Gladstone's last Government—men like John Morley, Asquith, Fowler, Campbell Bannerman, Spencer, Ripon, and Bryce, while one was reminded of the storm and stress of politics by seeing a few who are for the moment outside Parliament, such as Shaw-Lefevre, Robert Spencer, Arnold Morley, and G. W. E. Russell.

At length all these public men had found their places, and just three-quarters of an hour after the procession had begun to enter, the words "I am the resurrection and the life" could be heard, as the coffin, preceded by the representatives of Royalty and by the Earl Marshal, was borne slowly up the nave. It was covered with a white silk pall—the same that was used for Archbishop Benson when he died at Hawarden. The singing of the combined choirs as the coffin slowly advanced was exquisite. On one side walked Mr. Armitstead, Lord Rosebery, Sir

William Harcourt, Lord Kimberley, and the Duke of York, and on the other Lord Rendel, the Duke of Rutland, Mr. Balfour, Lord Salisbury, and the Prince of Wales, while immediately there followed the mourners, members of the Gladstone family, servants, physicians, secretaries, friends and villagers from Hawarden. Thus the procession contained literally all sorts and conditions of men, and united the highest and the lowest.

The favourite hymns of the dead man were sung with thrilling effect, and when the body was carried to the grave in the North Transept the scene was perhaps as memorable as has ever been witnessed even in that Abbey. All round are the marble memorials of the great; at the head of the grave in a chair specially provided sat aged Mrs. Gladstone, while in a touching group stood her children and grandchildren. The pall-bearers were there as well, and I noticed that Lord Salisbury was deeply moved, and so was Mr. Balfour. When some of the little girls close to the Premier sank on their knees by the grave, I saw the tears fill the old statesman's eyes. But again and again on that day there were tears in eyes which are not given to weeping, and indeed a man must have been made of iron to have kept down all sign of feeling.

It was just at five minutes before noon that the coffin containing all that is mortal of the great Gladstone was lowered into the grave, and while the prayers were still being repeated over it the deep tone of Big Ben striking twelve could be heard filling the air with its hum. Other hymns and anthems followed, the words of one anthem, "Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore," being singularly appropriate. But it was after the benediction and while the organ and the superb bands were playing the Dead March from "Saul" that what may be called the climax of this memorable service was to be seen. Mrs. Gladstone had taken her last look into the grave; the sons and daughters and grandchildren had done the same, when the Prince of Wales stepped over to Mrs. Gladstone's chair; he stooped down and spoke words of sympathy, and then kissed her hand with courtly grace. The Prime Minister, the Duke of York, Mr. Balfour, Sir Wm. Harcourt did the same, and Lord Rosebery, who was deeply moved, kissed Mrs. Gladstone on the face with all the reverence of a son. No man who has looked on that scene is ever likely to forget it. It is worthy of the pencil of the artist and the pen of the poet. Long after I had come out into the noisy commonplace streets I could hear the throb of the organ and the rolling of the drums, and I could see that group of the leading men of the land around the venerable lady so sore stricken in her old age. Gladstone's life was a long and a splendid one; the influence of his death and his burial has been and will yet be, I believe, unequalled in our history—and I am all too conscious that any printed account of the scene in the Abbey must of necessity be inadequate.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

"HOW TO CIVILISE THE AFRIDIS."

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—It has struck me that a captious critic may take umbrage at the paragraph in which I talk of electricity and gypsum in the same breath. I therefore write to explain that it is necessary to reduce gypsum to an impalpable powder before it can be used with effect as a manure; and, in a country where coal is scarce and dear, electricity is the cheapest form of power that can be used for working machinery on a large scale. For example, the mining and milling industries in the mountains of Colorado have been revolutionised by the use of electric power.—Yours, etc.,

1, Dudley Place, Paddington. Donald N. Reid.
May 29, 1898.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

Thursday, May 26.—The lying in state of Mr. Gladstone's body drew an enormous number of people to Westminster, and all day long from six o'clock in the morning until dusk a constant stream of reverent mourners passed through Westminster Hall, and a vast concourse made up of all classes and conditions of men paid this last tribute of respect to the mortal remains of the dead statesman. The coffin, which had been sealed during the night, lay on a raised catafalque in the centre of the hall with a lighted candle at each corner and a crucifix at its head. Black cloth draperies relieved by the white silk pall formed the only funereal trappings, and the effect was thoroughly simple, as Mr. Gladstone's family had requested it should be.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier pronounced an impressive funeral oration on Mr. Gladstone in the Dominion House of Commons yesterday.

The absence of trustworthy news as to Admiral Cervera's squadron still left its position in doubt, though it was generally believed to have remained at Santiago de Cuba. An official statement was issued in Madrid yesterday to the effect that it was revictualling and coaling at that port. On that day Rear-Admiral Sampson's squadron was in the Old Bahama Channel. In Madrid the slow progress of events was arousing impatience, though the dominant feeling was not violently warlike. On the contrary, there was a growing desire to discover some honourable conditions on which Spain could terminate a war by which she had nothing to gain. In New York rumours were plentiful, but they were as usual conflicting and for the most part baseless. Three transports carrying 2,500 troops and a large quantity of stores and ammunition had left San Francisco for the Philippines.

Friday, May 27.—The lying in state of Mr. Gladstone's body continued in Westminster Hall throughout the day. Altogether some 300,000 persons were estimated to have taken advantage of this opportunity to pay respect to the memory of the dead. Between six and seven o'clock this evening delegates to the number of 2,000 from Liberal associations throughout the country visited the hall, which was then closed to the general public, and passed through in procession. The arrangements for to-morrow's ceremony in the Abbey were now complete in every detail, the music of the service having been gone through to-day so that there might be no confusion. Mrs. Gladstone and the members of the dead statesman's family who were at Hawarden travelled up to London this afternoon, together with the 150 villagers from Hawarden who were to be present at the funeral.

It was reported that Mr. E. F. Knight, one of the Special Correspondents of the *Times*, had been arrested at Havana and thrown into prison. He appeared to have landed in Cuba from an open boat. The British Consul was taking steps to obtain Mr. Knight's release. The positions of the hostile fleets were still in doubt. In Madrid feelings of despondency were gaining ground, and it was becoming more and more recognised that Spain would find no help in Europe and that she must prepare for the worst. Rumours of a Ministerial crisis were common, but they were as yet based only on vague surmise and gloomy speculation. General Woodford, the United States Minister who was recalled from Madrid at the beginning of the war, in his first public utterance since his return to America, spoke calmly and courteously of Spain, and of the efforts made to preserve peace between the countries. The question of Hawaii was again threatening to cause trouble, and a proposal to annex it at once was to be made in the Senate.

Saturday, May 28.—The funeral of Mr. Gladstone took place this morning in Westminster Abbey with ceremonies at once simple and impressive, and in presence of one of the largest and most representative congregations ever gathered in the ancient church. The members of the two Houses of Parliament began to assemble in their respective chambers before 9 a.m., and altogether nearly 150 peers and upwards of 400 members of the House of Commons attended, and at the appointed time walked in procession to Westminster Hall, where the funeral procession was formed. It was headed by officials of the College of Heralds, after whom came the House of Commons. Next followed the Heralds, Privy Councillors who were not members of either House of Parliament, the House of Lords (exclusive of members of the late Ministry), the members of the late Ministry, representatives of our own and foreign Royal Families, the Dukes of Connaught and Cambridge, Lord Pembroke, representing the Queen, and the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, immediately preceding the coffin, of which the pall-bearers were—on the right, Lord Rendel, the Duke of Rutland, Mr. Balfour, Lord Salisbury, and the Prince of Wales; and, on the left, Mr. G. Armitstead, Lord Rosebery, Sir W. Harcourt, Lord Kimberley, and the Duke of York. The Bishop of London walked close behind the coffin, and then came the relatives and private friends of the dead statesman, the Rev. Stephen Gladstone, rector of Hawarden, officiating as chief mourner. The gentlemen who had acted as private secretaries to Mr. Gladstone when he was Prime Minister, the physicians who attended him in his last illness, his servants, and a deputation of inhabitants of Hawarden brought the procession to a close.

The short route from Westminster Hall to the Abbey had been occupied for hours by a crowd as dense as could well be gathered in so small a space, and conspicuously silent and reverent in demeanour. The route was lined by the Eton Volunteer corps and by large numbers of police. Within the Abbey every available space was occupied by the great congregation. The Princess of Wales and the Duchess of York were present, and shortly after 10 o'clock Mrs. Gladstone entered with several members of her family—the whole assemblage rising to receive her. The coffin having been placed under the lantern, and the members of the procession having taken the places reserved for them, the Dean of Westminster read the first part of the service, and thereafter, while a hymn was being sung, the coffin was taken to the graveside, and was

lowered into the place prepared for it while the remainder of the service was read by the Dean of Westminster and the Archbishop of Canterbury. After Norroy King of Arms had formally proclaimed the style and titles of the departed statesman, another hymn was sung, and the ceremony closed with the re-forming of the procession and its return to Westminster Hall.

The Queen sent to Mrs. Gladstone a telegram saying that her Majesty's thoughts were much with her. That day's ceremony would be most trying and painful for Mrs. Gladstone, but it would be at the same time gratifying to her to see the respect and regret evinced by the nation for the memory of one whose character and intellectual abilities marked him as one of the most distinguished statesmen of the reign. "I shall ever," her Majesty concludes, "remember his devotion and zeal in all that concerned my personal welfare and that of my family."

The Chief Constable of Birmingham received from the Major-General commanding in the North-Western Military District a letter informing him that the Secretary of State had given instructions that a scheme should be formulated for calling out the Reserve forces if required in case of necessity. It was believed that all the chief constables in the country had received similar notifications.

Monday, May 30.—Detailed reports reached New York from various sources to the effect that Commodore Schley had seen some of the vessels of Admiral Cervera's fleet in the harbour of Santiago de Cuba, or that one of the cruisers attached to his squadron had reported their presence in the harbour; but the Navy Department in Washington neither confirmed nor denied these rumours, and, according to the latest advices from that city, there was still uncertainty as to the actual whereabouts of the Spanish fleet. Despatches arrived from Commodore Schley dated from Cienfuegos. From Madrid came no war news, but endless surmises as to the present position and future movements of Admiral Cervera's fleet. The Minister of Marine remained silent.

Tuesday, May 31.—Mrs. Gladstone and her family issued an intimation that owing to the overwhelming multitude of messages of sympathy they had received from all parts of the world, they were obliged to ask all those whom they might not be able personally to thank to accept through the Press their heartfelt gratitude. Mrs. Gladstone felt deeply the kindness which had been showered upon her, which neither she nor her sons and daughters could ever forget.

There was yet no official news in the United States of the position of Admiral Cervera's fleet, but the reports that it had been ascertained to be at Santiago de Cuba were persistent, and military movements were said to be beginning, based on that assumption. It was alleged that General Miles had left Washington for Tampa to take command of the invading force, but of this there was no certain knowledge. In the Chamber in Madrid, the Bill for preventing the exportation of coined and uncoined silver was passed after a lively debate, but there was little belief that it would produce any result.—It was reported from Cadiz that the departure of Admiral Camara's fleet had been delayed owing to the discovery of various defects in the torpedo-boats.

It was announced that preliminary arrangements had been concluded in Washington for an International Commission to settle all the questions at issue between Canada and the United States. The announcement that the holding of the Commission had been agreed upon—subject to the approval of the British Government—caused great satisfaction in official circles, both in Ottawa and in Washington, and was said to have caused some uneasiness to the foreign ambassadors in the latter capital, "who were apprehensive that it was the beginning of a movement towards an Anglo-American alliance."

It was reported that a British force had occupied Wei-hai-wei, and measures were being taken to improve the fortifications and to institute effective sanitation on the island.—Prince Henry of Prussia arrived at Wei-hai-wei to-day, and visited the British camp.

Wednesday, June 1.—Reports from Port au Prince, Cape Haytien, and other sources stated that on Tuesday afternoon an American fleet composed of fifteen warships began a bombardment of Santiago de Cuba and continued it for nearly two hours, directing their fire against the forts and harbour, which were supposed to have suffered severely. Spanish versions of the affair of course represented that the American fleet suffered a check. No official reports of the engagement were issued by the Washington Government, and there was a general disposition in the United States to doubt whether any serious action whatever had taken place. It was not believed that Commodore Schley really endeavoured to enter Santiago harbour, or engaged the forts with the view of reducing them unaided.—The Revenue Bill made no progress in the American Senate; the Silverites continued to bring forward obstructive amendments.

The new Chamber of Deputies assembled in Paris. After the proceedings had been opened by M. Boysset, the oldest Deputy, a ballot was taken for the election of President of the Chamber. There were 556 voting papers given in, three of them being blank. M. Paul Deschanel received 277 votes—the exact number required as the absolute majority necessary for election—and M. Brisson 276. A difficulty arose as to the validity of the election, and after a noisy scene, which led to a suspension of the sitting, it was decided that a new election should be proceeded with to-morrow.

THE COMMITTEE ON CURRENCY.

We have received for publication a copy of a memorial to Lord George Hamilton on the subject of the Committee on Currency, signed by over 1,000 manufacturers, bankers, and merchants of Manchester and the surrounding district, together with the Secretary of State's reply. The memorial is as follows:—

Manchester, May, 1898.

To the Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India, London.

My Lord,—We, the undersigned, merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and others engaged in the industries of Manchester, beg to be allowed this opportunity of expressing the misgivings we entertain respecting the vague and apparently limited nature of the reference that has been made to the committee recently appointed to report on the currency proposals of the Government of India. The subject is a difficult one, involving questions of the gravest, most wide-reaching, and complex character. We strongly feel that to give satisfaction the enquiry must be comprehensive and thorough. In our opinion, no treatment can be regarded as sufficient and complete that does not embrace the consideration of

First, the suitability of a gold standard for India in the peculiar economic circumstances of that country.

Second, the practicability of introducing a gold standard and currency into India under conditions there prevailing.

Third, the wisdom of a return to a silver standard, with mints open to the free and unrestricted coinage of that metal.

We would further submit that it seems to us that the committee, as at present constituted, does not adequately represent the various interests affected, and might judiciously be strengthened by an addition to the number of those who possess practical knowledge and experience of the production, internal trade, and foreign commerce of the dependency.

We beg very respectfully to press the above on your immediate attention. We are convinced that if any mistake be now made it will not only lead to increased future trouble, disorganisation, and uncertainty, but it will also tend indefinitely to postpone the wise solution of a problem the most momentous that has of late attracted public notice, and the final settlement of which, in the interests of Great Britain and India, it is so important to reach with as little delay as is consistent with a full and exhaustive investigation of all relevant issues.

The following is the Secretary of State's reply:—

India Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.,
May 25, 1898.

Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, transmitting a memorial in regard to the composition of the Indian Currency Committee and the questions that should be taken into consideration by that Committee.

With reference thereto, I am to forward, for the information of the memorialists, a copy of a letter from Lord George Hamilton in reply to a communication on the subject from bankers and merchants of the City of London, and of an answer given by his lordship in the House of Commons, on the 17th instant, to a question by Mr. Maclean on the same subject.

You will observe that no change can now be made in the constitution of the Committee, but that they are not debarred by the terms of the reference made to them from considering such of the questions specified in the memorial forwarded by you as they may deem relevant to the enquiry on which they are engaged.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, A. Godley.

Sir F. Forbes Adam, C.I.E., Manchester.

INDIA IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE COMMITTEE ON CURRENCY.

Mr. T. Lloyd writes in the *Statist* (May 28):—

From Lord George Hamilton's reply to the bankers' and merchants' memorial last week it seems evident that the main proposal of the Indian Government is already thrown overboard. Lord George says that he and his colleagues feel so strongly that the interests of India and the United Kingdom are one, that nothing which would seriously affect this country can be approved by the Government; and, moreover, he adds that he feels the necessity for carrying with him the opinion of the City and of the public generally. Naturally this is understood in the City to mean that there is to be no loan for the purpose of forming a gold reserve; and we do not doubt that the City is right. Anybody, indeed, who understands the feeling of the City must be aware that a great loan would be highly unpopular; and furthermore, everyone who is acquainted with the poverty of India must be convinced that a great loan for the purpose suggested by the Indian Government would be unwise. We may conclude, therefore, that no-

attempt is to be made to establish a gold currency. In other words, the principal part of the Indian Government's proposals is dropped, and the Committee is called upon to advise the Government, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, to strengthen the hands of the Government in carrying through some alternative scheme. What that is we need not stop to enquire just now. The proceedings of the Committee are being conducted in private, and the members very properly refuse to speak upon the subject upon which they are called to give advice to the Government. But if there is to be neither a gold currency nor a gold reserve it is difficult to see how the India Office can persuade itself that it is possible to complete and make permanent the currency system introduced by the closing of the mints. If the Indian Treasury were able to exchange rupees for gold and gold for rupees whenever called upon, or, at all events, if it accumulated such a stock of gold as led it to believe itself able to do so, then it would be intelligible that the India Office and the Indian Government should think themselves in a position to carry out the new policy. But without a gold reserve the project seems to be not merely impracticable but utterly wild.

Assuming that Lord George Hamilton's letter is rightly interpreted—that there is to be no gold reserve formed, but that an attempt is to be made to complete and render permanent the policy introduced by the closing of the mints—it follows that the contraction of the currency of India is to be continued, and, consequently, that we are to have for an indefinite time to come long periods of monetary stringency every year. Our correspondent "Open Mint" has often forcibly pointed out what that means to India—a serious depreciation of thirty or forty per cent. on an immense amount of uncoined silver held by the Natives, which, according to his estimate, is not much smaller than the total rupee currency of the country. Before the mints were closed that uncoined silver could be turned into money whenever its owners wished. If their crops failed, or if any pressure of any kind came upon them, they could sell their silver for its weight in rupees, or send it directly to the mints and get it back in coin. But now they cannot get the silver coined, and, owing to the policy of the Government, the uncoined silver is depreciated to the extent of 30 or 40 per cent. That is a very serious loss. It decreases the purchasing and the borrowing power of the total population of India to a very great extent. But, further, the contraction of the currency makes the rates of interest and discount abnormally high every year. Before the closing of the mints India imported annually between 7 and 8 millions sterling worth of silver, and the whole of that amount could be turned into cash, and so could be used to ease the pressure upon the Money market. Now silver cannot be coined, and there is no natural way, therefore, in which the stringency can be lessened. This year we have seen the minimum discount rate of the Bank of Bombay at 13 per cent., and the minimum rates of Bengal and Madras have been as much as 12 per cent.; and these high rates have ruled for an exceedingly long time. It has occasionally been impossible to borrow on the very best security, even at these high rates, in Bombay and Calcutta, and what that means to the population of the whole of India will be readily understood by our readers. Rates in the interior have ruled at 15 and 20 per cent., and even higher, and very often it has been impossible to borrow at any rate, however extortionate. The Government, in pursuance of its new policy, refuses to buy silver and coin it for the purpose of easing the pressure upon the people, and the people themselves cannot get money coined, and, therefore, cannot by any device relieve their distress. The loss to the whole of India, in consequence, must have been enormous. The destruction of credit, the paralysis of trade may be imagined, but cannot be described, and it is not difficult to conceive how numerous must have been the cases in which unfortunate debtors have been sold up. The Indian people are not conversant with matters of finance, and probably they do not know how largely their sufferings are traceable to the policy of the Government. But it is a very dangerous thing to trust too much to popular ignorance. The Indian public may not be able to reason very clearly or very intelligently about the causes of the public distress, but they feel the distress not the less, therefore; and it is a very perilous thing to try their patience too far, especially as it is not even pretended by the advocates of the new policy that the Indian people themselves are dissatisfied with their old currency system, or that they would be individually benefited by the change that has been made. As "Open Mint," in a very striking letter published in this journal towards the end of last year, remarked, the great majority of the Indian people earn only about six shillings a month. It is clear, that being so, that a gold currency would be entirely beyond their reach, even supposing that a gold currency could be introduced and retained. If the value of the rupee could be permanently fixed at 1s. 4d. of our money, fifteen rupees would equal a sovereign, and consequently one sovereign would represent the earnings of the great bulk of the Indian people for two and a-half months. In the name of common sense, it may be asked, what use could a gold currency be to a people in such an economic condition? Manifestly, then, the change of currency is not attempted in the interest of the home trade. The home trade of India is at least twenty times as large as the foreign trade, and yet the trade upon which the whole population lives is being sacrificed for the fancied benefit of the trumpery foreign trade and of the Treasury. But it is said that, although the Indian people would not directly benefit by the change of currency, the loss by exchange would be so materially reduced that the Government would be able to avoid imposing fresh taxation, and thus indirectly the people would gain. It is not very difficult to show that this is a pure hallucination.

It is not pretended, as already said, that there would be any need of tampering with the currency were it not that the Indian Government has to pay in London every year 17 or 18 millions sterling in gold for what are called the Home Charges. The more the value of the rupee depreciates, it is argued, the greater the number of rupees that is required to pay the Home Charges, and consequently, if the depreciation could be stopped, increase in the taxation of India for the payment of the Home Charges would be stopped. But, as has been shown over and over again in these pages and elsewhere, the Home Charges are paid, not by rupees, but by the export of commodities—wheat, cotton, tea, jute, indigo, rice, grain, and so on. And it is the prices obtainable for these commodities in Europe that determine the quantity that has to be exported. But prices in Europe are not affected by the local currency of India; they are regulated by an entirely different set of influences. On the other hand, the ability of the natives of India to produce and export commodities is very seriously and very intimately affected by the local currency and the local money market. When coins are made artificially scarce employers have great difficulty in making purchases; they cannot buy to the greatest advantage, they cannot pay down upon the nail. And producers are still more affected. When the money market is made artificially stringent, and their ability to borrow is artificially restricted, every rise in rates reduces their producing power, unhinges markets, and lessens credit. Over and above all that, the flow of British capital into India is checked. The currency of the country is so disarranged, the policy of the Government is so changeable and so unintelligent, that everybody fears to risk his capital in India. Even while the rupee was depreciating in value capital flowed largely into the country. For example, the wheat export trade has grown up during that interval. There has been also an extraordinary expansion of cotton manufacturing; the jute trade has prospered, and still more so has the tea trade. Practically, India drove China out of the European market at the very time that the rupee was falling most heavily in value. But now the Indian Finance Minister repeatedly complains that capital is being withdrawn; and, in fact, the withdrawal of capital is one of the reasons he puts forward for establishing a gold standard and a gold currency. He hopes that if the exchange could be made steady European confidence would revive and European capital would once more flow into India. Thereby the producing power of the country would be enormously stimulated, and consequently its ability to pay the Home Charges would be augmented. But the more the policy of the Indian Government develops itself, the more accentuated becomes European distrust and the more complete is the withdrawal of capital. Thus the unwise measures taken to fix exchange by frightening capital make it certain that these measures will fail and that the difficulties of India in fulfilling her engagements will be increased.

In a letter to the editor of the *Economist* (May 28), Mr. William Warrand Carlile said:—

I think everyone must agree with you in the opinion that the proposals on Indian currency recently laid before Parliament cannot be accepted. The Indian Government appear to have set before themselves the problem how to adopt the gold standard without incurring an indefinite liability, and they cannot be considered to have solved it. Their objection to Mr. Lindsay's scheme was that it would involve such a liability. They have, however, only eliminated a similar indefinite liability from their own scheme by making that portion of their proposals which refers to the procurement of a gold reserve altogether devoid of rational significance. One might surely as well offer to insure a house for a year, while stipulating that he should not be asked to part with his money if the house should chance to be burnt down within the twelvemonth, as borrow £5,000,000 or £20,000,000 to provide a reserve for the establishment of a gold standard while promising the lenders not to part with any of the money till a gold standard was established. A reserve is always of the nature of insurance, and a reserve that cannot be parted with is nothing else but a contradiction in terms.

Is, then, the problem of adopting a gold standard—that is to say, of making the gold coin the standard money of the country, and fixing for the subsidiary silver a value that will not fluctuate—without assuming an indefinite liability, one that is in its nature insoluble? On the contrary, monetary history teems with instances in which it had been solved. There is one, indeed, in the history of our own country which has not received the attention that it deserves. By Adam Smith's time in England the gold had come to "hold up the value of the

silver coin," as he expresses it. The silver coin, indeed, though it was so worn that it was not worth intrinsically much more than half the amount at which it was rated, occasionally, as Lord Liverpool tells us, even went to a premium as compared with the gold, and never sank below its parity. This state of things, moreover, had come about without the Government of the day or anyone connected with it having ever consciously aimed at bringing it about. No one, it is hardly necessary to say, had then so much as dreamt either of accumulating a gold reserve to redeem the silver or a silver reserve to redeem the gold. Sir James Steuart devotes a curious and interesting chapter to the explanation of the "paradoxical appearance" afforded by the fact of the light shillings being often so difficult to obtain in change even for the new guineas, though the intrinsic value of one of the latter was probably nearly double that of twenty-one of the former.

In explaining the phenomenon, two facts have to be taken into account—first that the amount of silver coin could not be added to, not, indeed, because any statute prevented such additions being made, but because gold bullion being overrated, it did not pay to bring silver to the mints; second, that a rate had been fixed, in 1717, at which both the gold and silver coins were made unlimited legal tender in all transactions. In India we have imitated the first of these conditions by the closure of the mints. In order definitely to adopt the gold standard now it remains for us to imitate the second.

The Indian Government describe the state of things which they "wish to reach" as one in which "the circulating medium will not be composed wholly of silver coin which has no equal value outside the country, but will contain also a margin of gold which is capable of being used elsewhere as coin, and will therefore, in natural course, flow to where it is most wanted." They wish, in fact, to have the gold in circulation as standard money, and silver as subsidiary. It is, however, perfectly certain that this state of things cannot come about until the sovereign and the rupee are made legal tender in India in all transactions at a fixed ratio to each other. The step of fixing and proclaiming this ratio is thus one that must be taken some time or other; and, this being so, the question presents itself, Can any future time be more suitable than the present? To wait for a state of things in which the sovereign will somehow come of itself to be a "recognised coin of the Empire," is surely like waiting till the river flows down.

If the sovereign were made legal tender in India, and were adopted as the standard in all computations, and if it were announced that the rupee would also be legal tender, and would thus be accepted in the payment of taxes at the rate of 15 to 1, all experience, I think, points to the conclusion that it would never vary from that figure. The manner in which the fixing of an official ratio between the standard gold and the subsidiary silver operates to preserve the perfect parity between the two appears to be this. That, by such a provision, a practically unlimited market is provided for the silver at a fixed gold price, by its availability for the payment of taxes. The Indian revenue, at present, is not very far short in amount of the total rupee circulation. The great bulk of that circulation would therefore be annually, if a rate were fixed, to all intents, redeemed in gold; and there is no doubt, I think, that this fact alone would secure the fixity even of a rate which diverged very considerably from the market rate. At the same time, on all grounds, both of justice and expediency, a rate as close as possible to the market rate is the one that should be selected.

The proposals of the present Indian Government do not contrast favourably with the proposals of their predecessors in 1893. The present Government arrive at the conclusion, to begin with—wrongly, as it seems to me—that a 16d. rate for the rupee is one that is too high for existing conditions to warrant, and then, instead of suggesting that a lower rate should be chosen, so as to be in harmony with these conditions, they recommend that very drastic measures should be resorted to in order to alter them, and to bring them into conformity with this arbitrarily chosen rate. The conception of the situation formed by their predecessors was altogether different, and much more rational. Their proposal then was, first, simply to stop the free coinage of silver; next, to let an interval elapse during which the value of the rupee might settle down under the new conditions; and, finally, to open the mints to the free coinage of gold, fixing the ratio between the gold and the silver as close to the average market rate as possible. That, I think, is substantially the programme that will have now to be carried out.

MR. ALFRED WEBB ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Mr. Alfred Webb writes in the current number of the *British Friend*:—

All who are connected with the Society of Friends, and are proud of its record, must be jealous for the maintenance and carrying forward of its liberal and philanthropic traditions. It is idle to believe that Friends can effectually influence spiritually peoples abroad if they do not also concern themselves with their political and material interests. A proper understanding of the case of the peoples from their own standpoint is essential for the government of the world by reason rather than by force.

There is some danger that Friends may occupy a less independent attitude than formerly, in that they are now more than formerly connected with Government and office. There is a greater call for vigilance, especially with regard to India. In intellect, honesty, and intention the Indian Civil Service is pre-eminent. It is through its influence we chiefly judge of Indian affairs. That service is, however, not to be depended upon for unbiassed judgment where its own interests are concerned. And its monetary interests are not always in accord with the interests of educated Indians. Like all services, it is too much inclined to believe the system it administers is perfect. Its judgment on moral questions cannot always be relied on. The number of British Indian Civil Servants who do not approve of the opium traffic and the Cantonment Acts is infinitesimally small. What I am here concerned to urge is that Friends should keep their minds open and informed about India. The publication in London of a weekly journal INDIA, treating of Indian questions from the standpoint of educated Indians and their British sympathisers, leaves no excuse for sole reliance on Anglo-Indian inspiration.

Permit me to refer to some recent events as emphasising the necessity for vigilance and enquiry. There have been at least two cases within the last few months of Natives being shot dead by British soldiers in districts as peaceful as Devonshire; upon these soldiers no punishment has been inflicted. I am not aware that a European has ever been brought to execution for the killing of a Native in India. The brothers Natu, two gentlemen of education and position, were arrested over six months ago, and their property seized by Government. They have since been held in separate imprisonment without any charge being brought against them or any prospect of release. All that is clearly known is that they severely criticised the plague regulations at Poona.

The Honourable B. G. Tilak, a man of the highest character, a member of a Government Council, has lately been condemned to a year's imprisonment, carrying with it too a Brahmin degradation of which we can form no conception, for language which in Ireland would pass without comment. There were six Anglo-Indians and three Natives on the jury. Neither the judge nor the six Anglo-Indians are known to have had such a knowledge of Mahrati as would enable them to decide between the various readings of the incriminatory writings. He was brought in guilty but by a majority of six of the jurors.

We would presume that the plagues and famines that have devastated India should have called for the greatest consideration; yet rather a reversal of liberal developments of twenty years ago has been entered upon. There is every indication of extreme dissatisfaction amongst Native, and indeed, unofficial Anglo-Indian, feeling, concerning the new Sedition Bill. According to the associated Calcutta Bar, an eminently non-political body, the effect will be to make it penal amongst other things:—"(1) Effectively to criticise the policy of the Government with reference, for example, to the present war beyond the frontier. (2) Effectively to oppose and to give true utterance to the feelings of the people, or a section of the people, against a proposed law that may be considered oppressive. (3) To present a petition for the redress of serious grievances hitherto unredressed, and to leave it in the discretion of the Executive Government to prosecute or not." The taxation of India, more especially for warlike purposes, has enormously increased. The drain upon the country for millions spent outside its borders is greater every year. Millions within the past year have gone for a war, arising from a policy declared mistaken by some of the greatest Indian statesmen. Thousands of Native lives have been sacrificed; thousands of homes destroyed; a country devastated; hundreds of British lives have been lost. (We turn with sickening from the pages of our illustrated papers.) Already the Indian people are overburdened with taxation on the necessaries of life. We in these islands, upon an average, pay taxes of 5½ per cent. on our incomes; in India they pay 6½ per cent. It is needless to observe how much lighter presses a tax of 44 shillings on £40, our average income, than one of 2s. 3d. on 36 shillings, their average income. We spend per head on intoxicants alone more than twice as much as the average Indian income. When on February 22, Samuel Smith, M.P., urged that a portion of the costs of the frontier war should be borne by this country, the Indian Secretary replied that the Indian Government is "fully confident that a substantial surplus can be forecasted for the next ensuing year, that no additional taxation will be imposed." Yet we know that the land taxes are being screwed up year by year, and late papers inform us that heavier stamp duties are being imposed—amongst others an anna (1d.) stamp on every acknowledgment of debt of 20 rupees (25s.) and upwards; and we hear that "the present state of the finances of India cannot entertain a scheme involving so large an expenditure" as £40,000 for acknowleged deficiencies in the Presidency College at Calcutta. Some of the Anglo-Indian papers oppose British grants in aid of India openly, from fear of their leading to greater interference by the British people in the affairs of India. There are indeed dangers that did not exist under the

old *régime* of the East India Company. Parliament was jealous of that company, and was ever ready to stand between it and the people of India. Indian officialism in India and in London are now practically one. Parliament without British interest behind it has neither the time nor the strength to counteract the steady untiring influence of that officialism.

The past should warn us that Indian official statements are not always to be relied on. The Indian Government had positively denied the existence of the state of affairs in the cantonments revealed by the enquiries of Mrs. Andrews and Dr. Kate Bushnell. The probability of famine two years ago was almost denied. The Secretary of State for India lately declared in the House of Commons that in case of the receipt of "rumours of serious unrest amongst Mahometans of Bombay they are untrue." We all know what has since occurred there. We cannot divest ourselves of responsibility in the government of 300,000,000 of our fellow-subjects in India. We are bound to interest and inform ourselves. I, therefore, implore (if such a strong expression may be permitted) the attention of Friends generally to Indian political affairs.

BRITISH INDIANS IN NATAL.

We have received the following correspondence for publication:—

From the Council of the East India Association,
3, Victoria Street, S.W.,
December 15, 1897.

To her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

Representatives of the Indian Community in Natal, South Africa, have—on several occasions, both by written and personal application—requested the East India Association to consider and examine certain grievances which they are alleged to suffer in the Colony, and should these appear to be well-founded and remediable, to assist them in obtaining redress from her Majesty's Government.

2. As your Lordship is aware, the East India Association was formed to promote, by all legitimate means, the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India, and the effect of recent legislation in Natal is so opposed to these interests, that the Association believes it to be its duty to move your Lordship to take such action as may mitigate or remove disabilities or grievances which are inconsistent with such rights as should be possessed by all loyal subjects of her Majesty.

3. In anticipation of the preliminary objection that this remonstrance should be addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, we would observe that the defence of the interests of natives of India belongs, in the first place, to the Indian Government, that the Colonial Secretary has already expressed his sympathy with the position of Indian residents in Natal, and lastly that the question is so complicated by political, industrial, and race considerations that it is very doubtful whether the Colonial Office would feel justified, having regard to the general principles which govern its imperial policy, in taking further direct action to remove the hardships of which complaint is made. The Indian Government which supplies the indentured labour which is necessary to the prosperity and development of the colony, has alone the power to stipulate for the fair and honourable treatment of free immigrants to Natal, as it now provides for the protection of indentured labourers.

4. The grievances for the redress of which we have the honour to solicit your Lordship's assistance, are those which have been deliberately decided, and openly acknowledged to be intended to discourage, and even render impossible, the immigration into Natal of free Indian settlers; and are contained in four Acts which have been passed during the present year by the Natal Legislature—the Quarantine Act, the Immigration Act, the Trading License Act, and the Act to protect the uncovenanted Indians from liability to arrest. The Council of the East India Association do not hesitate to express their conviction that this series of Acts directed against a loyal, respectable, and industrious class of her Majesty's subjects, is opposed to equity and sound policy, and is discreditable to modern civilisation.

5. It is to be understood that as a legacy of the slavery on which both Dutch and English settlements in South Africa were founded, there is among European emigrants an invincible prejudice against manual agricultural labour, although the climate of Natal is certainly not more unsuited to such labour than that of the Australian Colonies. The consequence is that the Kaffir race, being of no value as agriculturists, the Colony imports under indentures from India large numbers of so-called coolies, but in reality trained and skilful agricultural labourers, bound under conditions agreed upon with the Indian Government, to work for a term of years on the tea, sugar, and other estates which now form a considerable part, and will in the future form a still larger part, of the wealth of the colony. Without these labourers the industrial development of Natal could not be effected. But while the colony is anxious to obtain indentured labourers, it objects most strongly and in the most arbitrary manner to the immigration of free unindentured Indians, Hindus and Mahometans alike; merchants with their assistants and servants, and petty traders whose economical, sober, and industrious habits allow them to compete successfully with Europeans, especially in the supply of goods to the indigenous native community, and who, as market-gardeners, pedlars, and in the probable future as artisans, reduce or threaten to reduce the high standard of wages that the European colonist desires to maintain. The source of the agitation is industrial and trade jealousy. There was originally an endeavour to create a prejudice against Indians as uncleanly and immoral, and, as such, prejudicial to the well-being of the colony; but this unworthy device is being abandoned, and it is acknowledged by all competent authority that the Indian immigrant compares favourably in personal cleanliness and morality with many European immigrants, while in sobriety and orderly conduct he is superior to most.

6. The nature of the grievances complained of is detailed in the accompanying papers, and can indeed be clearly understood on perusal of the Acts of the Natal Legislature above mentioned without the necessity of further comment. It is sufficient to say that they render it almost impossible for free, unindentured Indian immigrants to land in Natal or to work or reside there, and that it is frankly admitted by the farmers and supporters of the Acts that it was with this intention that they were passed into law. It will further be gathered from the extracts from Natal newspapers and the utterances of prominent Natal politicians that this class legislation, so inequitable, short-sighted and opposed to all traditions of English liberty, is strongly condemned by the intelligent portion of the Natal community.

7. The Council of the East India Association would venture to point out to your Lordship, that the prohibition of Chinese immigration into the United States of America and the Australian Colonies, in no way strengthens the case of the Natal Legislation. Although trade jealousy has exaggerated the defects of the Chinese as immigrants in these countries, yet they are unquestionably undesirable settlers, belonging to an alien race and Government, and their habits are, in some instances, obnoxious to European sentiment. But the Indian has none of these defects; he is, like the Englishman, of an ancient Aryan stock; a fellow subject, with him, of the Queen, and an industrious and law-abiding citizen. If it were not for the trade jealousy which blinds the eyes of Natal colonists, they would recognise that they could have no better and more trustworthy allies against the rapidly increasing and dangerous Kaffir population than their loyal Indian fellow-subjects. The Council would especially call attention to rules under the Dealers' License Act, which require the traders to keep their books in English, and give absolute power to the licensing authorities to refuse to issue or renew licenses, these licensing authorities being the municipalities and town councils, who have the strongest reason to object to Indian trade competition. In introducing this Bill into the Legislature, the Prime Minister declared that its intention was to prevent persons who competed with Europeans from getting licenses to trade. No appeal was permitted under this Act from the decision of an interested and prejudiced local official to any court of law. This is merely one illustration of the tendency of the legislation against which we protest, and is not more unjust or oppressive than numerous other provisions of the new laws.

8. This Council would accordingly urge on your Lordship the desirability of allaying the strong feeling of discontent which the unjust treatment of Indian immigrants in Natal has excited in India, and would venture to suggest that the Governor-General in Council be requested to consider whether the supply of indentured coolies to Natal should not be altogether prohibited, until equitable and sufficient provision has been made for the free entry of unindentured Indian settlers into the colony in reasonable and limited numbers; and for their unmolested work and residence there in such full and unrestricted liberty as is the indefeasible right of all loyal and well-conducted subjects of her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

For the Council of the East India Association,
(Signed) Lepel Griffin, Chairman.

(Reply.)

India Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.
March 8, 1898.

Sir,—Your letter of the 15th December has been considered by the Secretary of State for India in Council, and I am directed in reply to assure your Association that all the arguments adduced by you on behalf of the British Indians in Natal had been anticipated and fully considered by her Majesty's Government, and have been urged by them as far as they thought practicable upon the Government of Natal, which, however, is a self-governing colony.

I am further to inform you that all the correspondence which has passed on the subject between this office and the Colonial Office has been communicated from time to time to his Excellency the Governor General in Council.—I am, sir, your obedient servant, (Signed) Horace Walpole.

The Chairman, East India Association, 3, Victoria St., S.W.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

OFFICERS IN INDIA.

PRESIDENT (elected 1897):
HON. C. SANKARAN NAIR.
GENERAL SECRETARY:
A. O. HUME, C.B., ROTHNEY CASTLE, SIMLA; and THE CHALET, UPPER NORWOOD, S.E.
JOINT GENERAL SECRETARY (in India):
D. E. WACHA, 84, HORNBY ROW, BOMBAY.
STANDING COUNSEL:
Bengal, W. C. BONNERJEE;
Bombay, PHEROZSHAH MEHTA;
Madras, RAI BAHADUR ANANDU CHARLU.

BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Sir W. WEDDERBURN, Bart., M.P., *Chairman.*
A. M. BOSE.
W. S. CAINE.
G. B. CLARK, M.P.
A. O. HUME, C.B.
J. SEYMOUR KEAY.
H. S. KHALIL.
W. S. B. MACLAREN.
DADABHAI NAOROJI.
HERBERT J. REYNOLDS, C.S.I.
J. HERBERT ROBERTS, M.P.
C. E. SCHWANN, M.P.
ROBINSON SOUTTAR, M.P.
ALFRED WEBB.
W. MARTIN WOOD.

OFFICES: 84 AND 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.
TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS: "INCAS, LONDON."

NAME OF CIRCLE.	JURISDICTION.	NAME AND ADDRESS OF SECRETARY OR SECRETARIES.
1. Calcutta	Presidency, Burdwan and Chittagong Divisions (*except* Murshidabad District) Assam & Orissa	J. Ghosal, Esq., Nolin Behari Sircar, Esq., and Raja Binoy Krishna Deb Bahadur; 11, Clive Street, Calcutta.
2. Dacca... ...	Dacca District	Babu Sarat Chandra Bose, Pleader, Rajar Deory, Dacca.
3. Maimansingh ...	Maimansingh District	Babu Anath Bandhu Guha, Sec., Maimansingh Association, Maimansingh.
4. Faridpur	Faridpur District	Babu Ambica Churn Mozumdar, Pleader, Faridpur.
5. Barisal	Bakarganj District	Babu Awsini Kumar Dutt, Pleader, Barisal.
6. Rangpur	Rangpur District	Joges Chandra Das Gupta, Pleader, Rangpur.
7. Dinajpur	Dinajpur District	Babu Lalit Chandra Sen, B.A., B.L., Dinajpur.
8. Pabna...	Pabna District	Babu Harendra Narain Roy, B.L., Pabna.
9. Bogra	Bogra District	Babu Peary Sunker Das Gupta, L.M.S., Medical Practitioner, Bogra.
10. Jalpaiguri	Jalpaiguri District	Babu Umagati Roy, Jalpaiguri.
11. Rampur-Beauleah ...	Rajshahyi District	Dr. Chandra Nath Chowdry, Rampur-Beauleah.
12. Berhampur	Murshidabad District	Babu Boikunt Nath Sen, Berhampur, Dist. Murshidabad.
13. Bhagalpur	Bhagalpur Division (*except* Purneah District) ...	Babus Siva Sankar Sahai and Surya Prosad, Bhagalpur.
14. Purneah	Purneah District	Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerji, Pleader, Purneah.
15. Chutia-Nagpur ...	Chutia-Nagpur Division	Rai Jodu Nath Mukerji, Pleader, Hazaribagh.
16. Behar	Patna Division (excluding the Muzaffarpur and Gaya Districts)	Babu Banwari Lal, Patna City.
17. Muzaffarpur ...	Muzaffarpur District...	Babu Preo Nath Mukherji, B.L., Vakil, Muzaffarpur.
18. Gaya	Gaya District	Babus Nand Kishore Lal and Upendra Chandra Mittra, Gaya.
19. N.-W. Provinces ...	North-Western Provinces	Secretary, Standing Committee, Johnstonganj, Allahabad.
Sub-divisions of the N. W. P. for the purpose of distributing "INDIA."		
Name of Sub-division.	Jurisdiction.	
Gorakhpur ..	Gorakhpur Division	A. Nundy, Esq., Gorakhpur.
Benares	Benares Division (*except* Mirzapur District) ...	Pandit Channu Lal, Benares City.
Mirzapur	Mirzapur District	Babu Sri Ram, Mirzapur.
Cawnpur	Cawnpur District	Pandit Perthi Nath, Cawnpur.
Bareilly	Bareilly District	The Secretary, Congress Committee, Bareilly.
Moradabad ...	Moradabad District	N. C. Bose, Esq., Moradabad.
Saharanpur ...	Saharanpur District	Babu Anand Swarupa, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Saharanpur.
Meerut	Meerut District	Babu Prahlad Singh, Meerut.
Aligarh	Aligarh District	Hafiz M. Abdur Rahim, Esq., Aligarh.
Agra	Agra Division	Pandit Tulsi Ram Misra, Mursan, Dist. Aligarh.
Allahabad	All places in the N.W.P. not above enumerated	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sec. for the N.-W. P. Circle, Allahabad.
20. Oudh	Oudh	Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma, Office of the *Advocate*, Lucknow.
21. Punjab	The Punjab	Lala Jrishi Ram, Secretary, Congress Committee, Lahore; Babu Chetan Anand, Multan; Bhagat Ram, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Jalandhar City; Lala Murli Dhar, Pleader, Ambala City; Babu Kedar Nath, Pleader, Delhi; and Pandit Perthi Nath, Pleader, Peshawur.
22. Bombay	Bombay Island, Colaba, Thana & Ratnagiri Dists.	D. E. Wacha, Esq., Presidency Association, Bombay.
23. Sind	Sind	Tahilram Khemchand, Esq., Pleader, Karachi; Himatsing G. Advani, Esq., Shikarpur; and Hiranand Khemsing, Esq., Haidarabad.
24. Ahmedabad... ...	Ahmedabad, Kaira and Panch Mahals Districts, Cutch and Kathiawar, Rajkot	Rao Saheb Kesavalal Motilal and Ratanlal Ranchhoddas, B.A., Pleaders, Ahmedabad.
25. Surat	Surat and Broach Districts, with Baroda ..	Hardevram Nanabhai Haridas, Esq., and Bhagubai Dayabhai, Esq., Surat.
26. Sholapur	Sholapur District	Vishem R. Lele, Esq., Sholapur.
27. Bijapur	Bijapur District	Krishnaji Raghunath Natu, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Bijapur.
28. Dharwar	Dharwar District	Sec., Standing Congress Committee, Dharwar, and Raghunath A. Sule, Esq., Hubli.
29. Satara	Satara District...	Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, Esq., High Court Pleader, Satara.
30. Ahmadnagar ...	Ahmadnagar District	Shankar Gangadhar Ranade, Mohenlal Hiralal and Kashinath Vinayak Bhawe, Pleaders, Ahmadnagar.
31. Poona	Poona, Nasik, & Khandesh Dist. (*except* Bhusawal)	Laxuman Raghunath Gokhale, Esq., Pleader, Poona.
32. Ichalkaranji... ...	Southern Mahratta Country	Sadashiv Ramchandra Apte, Ichalkaranji, near Kolhapur, S.M. Country.
33. Berar	Berar	R. N. Mudholkar, Esq., and B. H. Karandikar, Esq., Pleaders, High Court, Amraoti.
34. Nagpur	Central Provinces	Kesava Gopal Tamhan, M.A., Morris College, Nagpur.
35. Madras	Madras, Chingleput, N. and S. Arcot, Nellore and Native States	M.r.ry. V. Ryru Nambiar, High Court Vakil, Madras; M.r.ry. S. H. Belgrami, Barrister-at-Law, Madras, Secs., Mahajana Sabha.
36. Madura	Madura and Tinnevelli	M.r.ry. G. Srinivasa Row Garu, Pleader, Madura; M.r.ry. K. R. Gurusami Iyer, District [Court Pleader, Tinnevelli.
37. Tanjore	Tanjore and Trichinopoli	M.r.ry. S. Ramachandra Iyer Aol, High Court Vakil, Tanjore; M.r.ry. K. Vasudeva Iyengar, Mirasidar, Srirangam; M.r.ry. N. Vydianadha Iyer, M.A., Kumbakonum; M.r.ry. P. Rathna Sabapathy Pillai, Pleader, Negapatam.
38. Bellary	Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah, and Karnul ...	M.r.ry. Srinivasa Row Garu, B.A., Pleader, Bellary; M.r.ry. Dhone Subba Row Garu, Pensioned Deputy Tahsildar, Karnul.; Hon. Rai Bahadur C. Jambulinga Mudaliar, B.A., M.L., Cuddapah; M.r.ry. P. Kesava Pillai, Pleader, Gooty.
39. Malabar	Malabar and Kanara...	Hon. C. Sankara Nair, Poonamalli Road, Egmore, Madras; M.r.ry. K. C. Manavikraman Raja, Secretary, Kerala Mahajana Sabha, Calicut; M.r.ry. T. Viraraghava Iyer, Palghat; M.r.ry. T. C. Naraina Kurup, High Court Vakil, Tellicheri; Rao Bahadur N. Shiva Row, Pleader, Mangalore.
40. Salem	Salem	Hon. C. Vijiaraghava Chariar, B.A., Pleader, Salem.
41. Coimbatore	Coimbatore and Nilghiris	M.r.ry. C. M. Padmanabha Chariar, B.A., B.L., Coimbatore.
42. Ganjam	Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari, and Kristna	M.r.ry. B. Surianarayana Rao Garu, Vizagapatam; M.r.ry. C. Rungachariar, High Court Vakil, Musulipatam; M.r.ry. D. Subramaniem, Pleader, Coconada.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.—Intending Subscribers to "INDIA" should communicate with the gentleman whose name appears as Secretary to the Congress Committee for the district in which they reside, or with the London Office. All the gentlemen so named are in monthly correspondence with England, and receive a certain number of spare copies of "INDIA" to enable them to obtain new Subscribers, and are authorised to receive subscriptions to the Journal, which are payable in advance. They will also from time to time transmit to London the names of Subscribers who have paid, so that all such Subscribers may receive their copies direct from England every week. Subscribers are requested in giving notice of any alteration in their address, to quote the number on the covering wrapper of their copies of "INDIA."

TO ADVERTISERS.—Intending Advertisers should apply for terms to any of the following: The Manager, "INDIA," 84, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W.; The Secretaries, Calcutta Congress Committee Offices, 11, Clive Street, Calcutta; D. E. WACHA, Esq., Presidency Association, Bombay; The Secretaries, Mahajana Sabha, Madras; SANGAM LAL, Esq., Secretary Congress Committee, Lahore; Secretary, Congress Committee, Johnstonganj, Allahabad.

NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS.

Applications for rates for Advertisements in "INDIA," should be made to

THE MANAGER,
84 & 85, Palace Chambers,
Westminster, S.W.

Advertisements should reach the Office not later than first post on Thursday in order to ensure insertion in the issue of the following day.

In Crown 8vo, *cloth, price* 7s. 6d.

THOMAS BEST JERVIS,

LIEUT.-COL. BOMBAY ENGINEERS, H.E.I.C.'s SERVICE, DIRECTOR OF THE TOPOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL WAR DEPARTMENT.

A Biography by his Son, W. P. JERVIS.

"The biographer has done his work with judgment and discretion, and has produced a work of considerable general utility and interest." *Glasgow Herald.*

"A faithful autobiography. As being a centenary tribute by his son, there is much relating to the condition of India in former times, the better enabling us to judge of the progress manifested in that country of late years."—*Western Daily Mercury.*

ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: ITS AIMS AND JUSTIFICATION.

[Being a reprint of certain articles on the subject in the *Statesman and Friend of India.*]

BY ROBERT KNIGHT.

CALCUTTA: Published at the *Statesman* Office.

The above will be sent to any address on receipt of 1d. stamp for postage. Application should be made to the Manager of "INDIA," 84 & 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

TOOTH-ACHE

CURED INSTANTLY BY

BUNTER'S NERVINE

Prevents Decay, Saves Extraction. Sleepless Nights Prevented.

Neuralgic Headaches and all Nerve Pains removed by BUNTERS NERVINE. All Chemists, 1s. 1½d.

"INDIA." Vol. VIII. (1897.)

NOW READY.

BOUND IN CLOTH (post free), 8/6, *net cash.*

To be obtained at the Offices,
84 & 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

A limited number of VOLUMES V. (1894), VI. (1895), *and* VII. (1896) *can be obtained at the same price. Remittances should accompany order.*

English Newspapers, Books, Magazines, &c.

WILLIAM DAWSON & SONS, Ltd.,

WHOLESALE AND EXPORT BOOKSELLERS, STATIONERS, AND NEWSVENDORS,

CANNON HOUSE, BREAM'S BUILDINGS, LONDON, ENGLAND.

(*Established* 1809.)

Orders for ENGLISH BOOKS, MAGAZINES, PERIODICALS, NEWSPAPERS, &c., punctually attended to, carefully packed, and despatched by first mails to Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, India, China, and throughout the world.

Remittance, or reference for payment in London, to accompany all orders. Advertisements and notices of Births, Marriages, and Deaths inserted in all the English Newspapers. Send for a Complete List of English and Foreign Newspapers, Magazines, &c. Also for Catalogue of Works and Text Books in the Oriental Languages.

6d. Weekly.]

THE "HOME NEWS"

Is the BEST SUMMARY of EUROPEAN INTELLIGENCE.

SPECIALLY PREPARED FOR INDIA, CEYLON, CHINA, and AUSTRALASIA.

PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY.

THE "HOME NEWS" Will keep readers posted up in all Political, Social, Literary, Dramatic, and other movements.

THE "HOME NEWS" Contains Original and Special Matter, and gives the cream of the European Newspapers.

Ask the Local Newsagent to get it, or send Subscription direct to the Publisher.

Subscription, including postage, payable in advance—

Period.	All places abroad.	In United Kingdom.
Three Months...	£0 7 7	£0 7 1
Six Months	0 15 9	0 14 1
One Year	1 10 4	1 8 2

CHEQUES AND P.O. ORDERS TO BE MADE TO THE ORDER OF GRINDLAY & Co.

OFFICES: 55, PARLIAMENT STREET, LONDON, S.W.

THE STORY OF THE MALAKAND FIELD FORCE.

An Episode of Frontier War.

BY

WINSTON L. SPENCER CHURCHILL,
Lieutenant, the 4th Queen's Own Hussars.

With Maps, Plans, etc.

Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

LONGMAN, GREEN & CO.,
LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY.

NOW READY.

CONGRESS GREEN-BOOK: No. 1.

THE SKELETON AT THE (JUBILEE) FEAST.

BY SIR W. WEDDERBURN, BART., M.P.

(Being a series of Suggestions towards the prevention of Famine in India. Reprinted from "India.")

Obtainable from the
BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
84 & 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

Price Sixpence, or Six Annas, net.

"Louene"

A Simple, Safe, & Reliable NERVE SEDATIVE.

GUARANTEED PURELY VEGETABLE AND NEITHER OPIATE NOR NARCOTIC IN ITS ACTION.

For NEURALGIA, NERVOUS HEADACHE, FACEACHE, SLEEPLESSNESS, and other Nervous Troubles.

The EARL OF MOUNT-CASHELL writes: "Acted like magic, and relieved pain almost immediately."

The COUNTESS OF BANTRY writes: "A good remedy for sleeplessness."

PRICES, 2/9 and 4/6 per bottle. Post free in the United Kingdom, 3/- and 4/9. Foreign postage extra.

Pamphlet, containing many valuable Medical and other Testimonials, post free on application to

THE LOUENE CO., 43, KING WILLIAM STREET, LONDON, E.C.

Printed by A. BONNER, 1 & 2, Took's Court, London, E.C., and Published for the Proprietors at 84 & 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.